The Catholic Historical Review

Volume XXXII APRIL, 1946 No. 1

TERENCE V. POWDERLY AND CHURCH-LABOR DIFFICULTIES OF THE EARLY 1880's*

IT may be said without fear of contradiction that in the United States at the present time the Catholic Church and organized labor are on friendly terms. Priests in increasing numbers have shown themselves actively friendly towards the workers' cause. The social teaching of the Church, as expressed in the encyclicals of Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI, has become well known and is widely used to awaken workers to their right and duty to organize for collective bargaining. Adult education programs under Catholic auspices seek to develop a disinterested labor leadership and a right-thinking rank and file union membership. On the darker side of the picture, there is only the infrequent outburst of a union official about the divisive force of religious groups who are interested in labor and, likewise, the generalizations sometimes made by Catholics on the defects of the movement.

Such a happy state of affairs has not always existed between these two groups which have throughout the history of the United States found their common strength among the toiling masses. During the 1880's there was rather a condition of confusion, and sometimes of

---

* The present article embodies certain phases of a more extensive study of the relations of Terence V. Powderly to the Catholic Church which was submitted as a dissertation in 1945 for the master's degree at the Catholic University of America. The entire subject of the Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor is at present being investigated by the writer for the dissertation for the doctorate. The writer wishes to thank Miss Mary R. Powderly, the niece of Terence Powderly, for giving her permission for the use of the Powderly Papers.

33698

conflict, between the Church, as represented by its bishops and priests, and the labor movement, as it found its current national expression in the Knights of Labor. It has been pointed out that it was not so much a lack of regard for the workingmen on the part of religious leaders which was responsible for this hostility. It was rather the secrecy and socialism of unionism which could be blamed for the difficulties which arose in a period when the American labor movement was still in formation.[1] Even a cursory study of the correspondence of Terence V. Powderly, the head of the Knights of Labor from 1879 to 1893, will corroborate the truth of that allegation. The principal bases for misunderstanding, or for the difficulties which churchmen and labor leaders had to adjust concerning the K. of L., as it was called, might be summarized under the following heads: its oath-bound secrecy, its Masonic aspects, its resemblance to the Molly Maguires, and its apparent socialistic or radical character.

All of these were considerations of importance in the eyes of ecclesiastics since they made the Knights suspect and possibly worthy of inclusion among the societies condemned by the Church. Norms governing Catholic participation in non-Catholic societies had often been promulgated by the Roman Pontiffs as well as by the American hierarchy.[2] Besides the Masonic groups, which had been specifically condemned at various times since the early eighteenth century, there were many others of like nature which were not, however, prohibited by name. The pontifical decrees and the American conciliar legislation were phrased in terms broad enough to bring under suspicion, at least, such varied groups as the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Grand Army of the Republic, and the Knights of Labor.[3] One of the problems facing the bishops of the United States in the years after the Civil War was to apply these general rules in specific circumstances. Since the organizations were secret they naturally had difficulty in arriving at any real evaluation of them. The decrees of the successive councils of Baltimore indicate that the bishops proceeded with great caution.

---

[1] Patrick J. Healy, "Catholic Economic Thought," *Catholic Builders of the Nation* (Boston, 1923), III, 101. This is an ineptly titled and undocumented essay.

[2] This aspect of the question has been well treated in Joseph L. Powers, C.S.C., "The Knights of Labor and the Church's Attitude on Secret Societies," unpublished master's thesis, Department of History, University of Notre Dame, 1943. Another master's thesis on the subject, "The Catholic Church and the Secret Societies in the United States," by Fergus Macdonald, C.P., is at present in progress at the Catholic University of America.

As early as 1810, at the first meeting of the hierarchy under John Carroll, Freemasonry had been plainly condemned.[4] The pastoral letter of the Fourth Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1840 indicated an extension of this condemnation beyond any one society, "to all that are accustomed to have secret proceedings, mysterious symbols, private tokens of recognition and oaths or other pledges of like solemnity, assuming to bind them to secrecy." The words of the bishops indicate also that laboring groups were already seeking security behind the veils of secrecy: "Among these societies we learn with deep regret that upon our public works where large masses of the laboring population are kept together, there exist associations of a most demoralizing and dangerous character." They went on to lament an abuse of organization: "As far as we can discover, the pretext is their own protection, but the practice is monopoly, blasphemy, insubordination, drunkenness, idleness, riots, and the terror of the vicinity."[5]

The status of these various secret societies grew to be a perennial problem to the Catholic hierarchy of the United States. Condemnations had not yet been decreed *nominatim* when the bishops assembled at Baltimore for the Second Plenary Council in 1866. Because doubts had arisen about the application of former condemnations to various kinds of "assemblages of workers," they thought to clarify the issue by enumerating four reasons underlying the prohibition of membership in certain social groups. They were: the danger of corruption of the Catholic faith, which they thought might arise from the close mutual association with men of such varied religious beliefs, the

---

[3] Cf. Frederick J. Zwierlein, *The Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid* (Rochester, 1926), II, 378-474.

[4] *Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis II Acta et Decreta* (Baltimore, 1877), p. 299 (appendix).

[5] Peter Guilday (Ed.), *The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy, 1792-1919* (Washington, 1923), pp. 141-142.

narrow and impervious compact of secrecy about all their business, the oath binding to inviolable secrecy in defiance even of lawful authority, and finally, the ill repute of such societies among good men.[6] They indicated further that by papal decree any society that operated against the Church or the State was to be considered condemned for Catholics, whether it was oath-bound or not.[7] The bishops made exception for legitimate unions, however, by the following clause:

> After carefully considering these things there is no evident reason why the prohibition of the Church against the Masonic and other hidden sects should be extended to those associations of workmen which it is certain have no other purpose than mutual help and protection in exercising their trade.[8]

They then quite cautiously added a warning that such societies should admit none of the errors of the proscribed groups, and they also advised the workingmen to maintain justice in their relations with employers, and to shun compacts of blind obedience that often led to social upheaval.[9]

This section of the conciliar decrees concluded with several clauses which reserved to the Holy See the right to settle any new questions concerning secret societies. Bishops and pastors were to be sure that a group fell under the papal constitutions as they had been promulgated at Baltimore before presuming to condemn it. In matters of doubt recourse was to be had to Rome. The Roman appeal, according to the decree, was to be accompanied by a report giving all the details and circumstances of the individual cases.[10] This step was a blessing for the American bishops since it freed them of the burden of an ultimate decision, and it was likewise a boon to legitimate associations since it prevented hasty unfavorable action by ecclesiastical authorities.

---

[6] *Acta et Decreta,* p. 262. From the apostolic constitution, *Providas,* of Benedict XIV in 1751.

[7] *Ibid.,* A decree of the Congregation of the Inquisition, promulgated by Propaganda on July 13, 1865.

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 263.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.,* p. 264.

Such was the background against which the Knights of Labor were viewed by Catholic churchmen in the early 1880's. It is not strange that no matter how much Grand Master Workman Powderly should have insisted that in effect the order's only purpose was "mutual help and protection," observers should have been led to believe otherwise. This was due principally to the organization's use of the trappings of secret societies and to the excesses of some of its members. Hence the chief misunderstandings that Powderly had to work to eliminate were based on the Knights' secrecy—for a while effected by an oath—, their Masonic appearance, their identification with the violent Molly Maguires, and the impression given by some that the order was socialistic. The fact that it was these points, and not the question of the workers' right to organize for self-protection, which formed the bone of Church-labor contention, by no means implies that all the Catholic ecclesiastics of those days with whom the Knights came in contact were in the vanguard of progressive social thought.[11]

The problem of vindicating itself in the eyes of the Church was a difficult one for the Knights of Labor, since labor had found by sad experience that it had to keep many of its activities hidden. It was maintained:

> The reason for this extreme secrecy was because it was claimed that open and public associations had, after centuries of toil and struggle, proved to be failures in one way or another. It was also claimed that when the association worked openly, so that its members might be known to the public, it exposed its members to the scrutiny and in time, the wrath, of their employers. It was deemed best to work in such a way to avoid comment and scrutiny.[12]

The ritual, the sign-grip, and the password were the workingman's answer to such employer devices as the "ironclad," the blacklist, and the labor spy, by which legitimate organization was obstructed.

---

[11] Powderly has left his own account of the clerical ignorance, incivility, and animosity he had to face. A large part of his posthumously published autobiography, *The Path I Trod* (New York, 1940) is concerned with "ecclesiastical opposition." He mentions less in detail the clerics who were friendly. This work, it should be remembered, was completed around 1921, about twenty years after his alienation from the Catholic Church.

[12] Terence V. Powderly, *Thirty Years of Labor* (Columbus, 1890), p. 147.

Besides this natural desire for self-protection, the Knights were affected also by the American fraternalism and the joining spirit which were rampant at the time.[13] The association, moreover, had inherited its secrecy and all its ritualistic safeguards from its founders. Chief among these was Uriah S. Stephens, who in 1869 formed the nucleus of the "Noble and Holy Order" from the garment cutters' union of Philadelphia. As a former student for the Baptist ministry, he brought the influence of the Scriptures into the ceremonies of the Knights. Since he was also a Mason, an Odd Fellow, and a member of the Knights of Pythias,[14] one is not surprised at the observation of a contemporary student of the order, whose writing enjoyed an official approbation:

> Mr. Stephens brought into the ritual of the new order many of the features of speculative masonry, especially in the forms and ceremonies observed. The obligations were in the nature of oaths taken with all solemnity upon the Bible. The members were sworn to the strictest secrecy. The name even of the order was not to be divulged. . . .[15]

Powderly, almost from the outset of his time as a member of the Knights, worked for the breakdown of complete secrecy, and especially for the elimination of the oath. He was in part motivated by the consciousness that this was one of the chief grievances of the Church about the order. The oath was part of the initiation ritual, prepared together with an opening service by Stephens in 1869.[16] Both of these were contained in a small booklet entitled the *Adelphon Kruptos* (or A. K.), meaning secret brotherhood. They constituted the ritual for local assemblies. Powderly took credit for drawing up and introducing a ritual into the district assemblies when he became Grand Master Workman in September, 1879.[17] The district assemblies were the groups organized on a wider territorial basis (for example, a whole county or a large city) to which the local assemblies sent delegates. They held, therefore, an intermediary position between the local groups and the National or General Assembly. This last was organized at Reading, Pennsylvania, in June, 1878.

---

[13] Cf. Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City, 1897-1898* (New York, 1933), pp. 288-290.

[14] Herbert Solow, "Uriah Smith Stephens," *Dictionary of American Biography,* XVII, 581.

[15] Carroll D. Wright, "An Historical Sketch of the Knights of Labor," *Quarterly Journal of Economics,* I (January, 1887), 142.

[16] John R. Commons et al. (Eds.), *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society* (Cleveland, 1911), X, 19, note.

[17] Powderly, *The Path I Trod,* pp. 63-65.

While still only a district master workman, in 1878 Powderly received inquiries about the possibility of Catholics being in good standing with the Church, and belonging to the *****, as the order was usually designated at that time.[18] However, objection to the organization's complete secrecy had already been voiced on the very practical grounds that it was a hindrance to the growth of the society to have its very existence unknown to workmen.[19] The religious factor, nevertheless, came to be very important also. In February, 1878, a change was made in the founding ceremony which was used at the setting up of a new assembly. After the words by which the member swore to reveal the affairs of the order to no one, the clause was inserted, "except to my Religious Confessor." To this addition, accredited to a certain Thomas P. Crowne, Powderly is said to have added the restricting phrase, "at the confessional."[20] On the other hand, at the St. Louis General Assembly in January, 1879, Powderly won a broader exception to the oath of secrecy for "such members as hold private consultation with the clergy for the good of the Order."[21] His compromise proposals concerning expunging scriptural texts from the A. K., modifying the initiation exercises so as to remove the opposition of the Church, and dispensing with the founding ceremonies were rejected. He did succeed, however, in having permission granted for district and local assemblies to reveal the name in their own areas.[22]

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 324-326.

[19] In October, 1875, a Brooklyn assembly recommended publicity to the district assembly in Philadelphia in order to secure members. Powderly, *Thirty Years of Labor*, p. 224.

[20] Commons, *op. cit.*, X, 28, note. Information for the notes in this section of the volume were supplied by Powderly. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[21] Norman J. Ware, *The Labor Movement in the United States, 1860-1895* (New York, 1929), p. 79.

[22] General Assembly, *Proceedings, 1879* (St. Louis), p. 75. From John R. Commons and Associates, *History of Labor in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1918), II, 339.

It would not be completely true to say that religious motives alone prompted the Grand Master Workman in his fight against absolute secrecy and the ritualistic oath which protected it. On October 7, 1880, he answered the inquiry of a certain Brother Taylor concerning candidates for admission to the order. Some of these candidates, it was said, had unorthodox or hazy notions about God, and still they were taking the oath. Powderly replied that there was no need to seek a definition of God from a prospective member, so long as he was otherwise worthy of acceptance. He explained:

> Like yourself I have never given any attention to the different forms of religion as professed. My whole time has been taken up with the question, "What does this (or that) man think on the Labor Question?" If the answer to the above was satisfactory I cared but little whether he professed any religion at all.[23]

What Powderly proposed to substitute for the oath was the purely natural word of honor. "I rather favor the idea of making honor the test," he wrote. Employing a scriptural allusion, an ornament of style evident throughout his writings, he said further:

> I am in thorough sympathy with you in relation to the necessity for union between the workers but I don't think any oath no matter how strong can bind a man whom God created to play the part of *Judas*. I am a member of one labor organization which embodies the very principles your letter sets forth, and it is oath bound and and still we find men mean enough to betray it.[24]

Although he spoke as if not attaching much importance to the sanction imposed by an oath, the leader of the Knights saw religious objections looming ever larger among his concerns.[25] Powderly

[23] Powderly Papers, Letterbook, Oct. 1880-Jan. 1883, p. 6, Powderly to Henry G. Taylor, October 7, 1880. Hereafter the abbreviations PP. and Lb. will be used for these papers and letterbooks which are housed in the Mullen Library of the Catholic University of America.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 19, Powderly to C. A. Lincoln, November 8, 1880.

[25] "Religious objections", is used here in the sense of those held by Catholics with regard to secret societies. Although Powderly does speak at times of "clergymen," he seems rarely to be referring to Protestant ministers. There were some of the latter who were very friendly to the K. of L. and even members of the order. Cf. Joseph R. Buchanan, *The Story of a Labor Agitator* (New York, 1903), *passim*. Clergymen at first were classed with bankers, lawyers, and brokers as ineligible for membership. The only bann that seems to have perdured was that against liquor dealers.

found himself in this quandary. He was unable by himself to change any law of the order for the sake of reconciling a Catholic conscience. Of course, he could do even less about altering ecclesiastical law in order to relieve a troubled member of the organization, "when once he makes up his mind that it conflicts with the duty he owes his Church."[26] However, he indicated some hope for a change on the side of the order, when he wrote: "Although if I could do it I would substitute the oath for the word of honor."[27] Although the words are transposed his meaning is obvious. On the other hand, Powderly seemed depressed by the fact that about the same time every year the Catholic membership dwindled, due to the clerical attacks on the order. This was around the season when the popular annual "missions" were conducted in Catholic parishes. Thus he claimed he was left alone as a Catholic in the General Assembly to battle the opposition.[28] The Master Workman's sorrow, he insisted, was increased not only by such losses from the ranks, but also by the fact that he found "that the best members make the best Catholics."[29] He ventured to prophesy, "If the priests would let us alone just two years we could remove the oath easily."[30]

Although this revivifying operation was to take place really within a few months, the slow strides of the Knights of Labor during 1880 and 1881 had made Powderly anxious about the future.[31] One of the obstacles to progress was plainly the difficulty of conscience imposed on any sincere Catholic who wanted to join. The hope of the order lay in its being open to all and in the removal of the oath.[32] As the meeting of the General Assembly of September, 1881, grew closer he saw the problem even more clearly and he urged its consideration upon his brother Knights:

---

[26] PP, Lb., Oct. 1880-Jan. 1883, p. 159, Powderly to Peter J. Ward, May 12, 1881.

[27] *Ibid.*, He made this very plain and minimized the importance of the oath, when he wrote: "In most cases *common sense* will dictate where and when a man should be obligated or reobligated. [The case of former members rejoining.] Some men need not take an oath at all and I would believe their simple word of honor. The main question is the *Elevation of Labor*." *Ibid.*, p. 213, Powderly to Thomas J. Crump, June 28, 1881.

[28] "We had a mission here in all the Catholic churches in the city and the *good Christians* are leaving us," wrote Powderly from Scranton. *Ibid.*, p. 204, Powderly to Charles Litchman, June 15, 1881.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 209, Powderly to W. J. Hudson, June 20, 1881.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 159, Powderly to Peter J. Ward, May 12, 1881.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 231, Powderly to Richard Griffiths, July 20, 1881.

> I desire that all parts of the entire order be represented, that we may do one of two things, either adopt a plain simple honest straightforward plan of action for the future upon which the fullest light may be thrown when occasion demands it, or else disband and proclaim to the world that as an organization for the benefit of humanity we are a failure. I am tired of shilly shallying.[33]

At Detroit where the convention was held, there were other questions and problems of organization,[34] as well as the ecclesiastical opposition, which made their chief interest and action lie in declaring, "the name of the order to be public property after January 1, 1882."[35] The barricade of absolute secrecy was demolished by the declaration that henceforth the name of the group would appear on its stationery—without the adjectives, "Noble and Holy"—and that the designation by the five stars was no longer necessary. Powderly then took action on the elimination of the oath. He told years later that it "occasioned no little dissatisfaction among those who believed that the veil of mystery was more potent for good than the education of the masses in an open organization."[36] In his address to the gathering he simply alluded in general terms to the hostility shown in many places by the Church. Arguing for the substitution of the word of honor, he concluded: "I therefore advise that a man's regard for his honor in this world be made the test, instead of his fear of punishment in the next."[37]

---

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 238, Powderly to D. Hammer, July 22, 1881.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 253, Powderly to Robert Nelson, August 17, 1881. That it was not past Powderly to resort to the dramatic is indicated also by his periodical threats to resign as Grand Master Workman.

[34] On the difficulties of the time concerning participation in politics, on trade versus mixed assemblies, etc., cf. Commons and Associates, *op. cit.*, II, 359 ff.

[35] Powderly, *Thirty Years of Labor*, p. 631. A later indication of the breakdown of complete secrecy, but the maintenance of another principle was the dispatch: "No objections to displaying Grand Seal unless it is on a beer stand." PP, Lb., Jan. 1883-Apr. 1884, p. 132, Powderly to D. A. Fenton, June 25, 1883.

[36] Powderly, *Thirty Years of Labor*, p. 560.

[37] *Ibid.*

It would seem, therefore, that however much a religious motive may have prompted the leader of the Knights to seek the removal of the oath, he did not see fit to use that line of argumentation on a predominantly non-Catholic audience.

Obviously, the order still retained something of a secret character, as well as a modified ritual. In relating the news of his re-election as Grand Master Workman, Powderly said, "Now comes the best part of it. The oath has been entirely done away with, and a word of honor substituted. The new A. K. will go into effect Jan. 1st and I am glad of it."[38] From this it is evident that a change was to be made in the ritual. In diplomatic words he wrote to Stephens, the old father-founder at Philadelphia:

> The changes made at Detroit were but few with the exception of removing the oath from the initiation, and the shortening of the initiatory exercises. And the popular sentiment was in favor of that step. Could we pick intelligent men only such a course would not be necessary but our order must spread and must adapt itself to the times we live in.[39]

Stephens' resentment of the change engineered by his successor angered Powderly.[40] To his mind the whole Philadelphia assembly was wasting its time with symbols and rites.[41]

The Master Workman found also in New York City opposition to his campaign against the oath and elaborate ritualism. He pointed out their uselessness to one of the members in that city and he referred to the "long formula of *words, words* that takes all the time of the meeting."[42] He refused the assembly in New York permission to extend the time for the use of the old formula, and at the General Assembly there in September, 1882, he defended his Detroit action, pointing out that a considerable increase in membership had already taken place.[43] An objection came to him also from a representative of the Catholic workers in the assemblies of that vicinity. This one was against the elimination of the oath:

---

[38] PP, Lb., Oct. 1880-Jan. 1883, p. 314, Powderly to Peter J. Ward, October 19, 1881.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 329, Powderly to Uriah S. Stephens, October 25, 1881.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 363, Powderly to Richard Griffiths, November 24, 1881. "Bah, the old man is in his dotage . . . if he insists on making a fool of himself he'l [*sic*] do it outside of this order for I won't trifle with him much longer."

[41] This group did not leave the Knights, but it is doubtful if Stephens was ever reconciled. Powderly seems to imply he was. ". . . the founder of the order . . . before his death became satisfied that a broader and more liberal plan should be adopted." PP, Lb., May 1883-Dec. 1885, pp. 106-108, Powderly to Archbishop Patrick J. Ryan, October 24, 1884. Ware says, concerning Stephens' death on February 13, 1882, "The Masons and other fraternal orders were invited through the press to his funeral, but the K. of L. was not." *op. cit.*, p. 94.

> They consider that they had better be bound by an oth [*sic*] with the right to confess to there [*sic*] religious confessors than to be bound by a solemn promise with no rights of the confessional whatever unless they perjure themselfs [*sic*]. Objection is allso [*sic*] raised to the taking of the name of God from the A. K. and other works wherever it appears as they regard it as brought about by the Socialistic tendencies of the Western delegates who being in the majority consulted not the wishes or the interest of the order in general but there [*sic*] own sweet will only.[44]

Powderly apparently suffered from the delusion that the withdrawal of the oath from the ritual of the order removed all basis for conflict with the Catholic Church. The charges of socialism had not yet risen to bother him, but he found it necessary to assure Catholics that now the Church was satisfied, and that they had full freedom to reveal the A. K. to their ecclesiastical authorities. Early in 1882 he wrote in an optimistic vein:

> I am a Catholic and have striven for years to abolish the oath and now that it has disappeared and A. K. puts on a practical businesslike appearance I hear no complaint of the Church opposing us. It was while the old A. K. existed that the trouble arose.[45]

---

[42] PP, Lb., Oct. 1880-Jan. 1883, p. 358. Powderly to George K. Lloyd, November 24, 1881. His later opinions of the ritual are interesting: "The workmen of to-day are not the dull prosy fellows they were twenty years ago. Mystery and mummery have no place in the affairs of to-day . . ." New York *Sun,* January 8, 1889. On the other hand, in his autobiography he wrote, "It inspired me in that faraway time and abides with me now as sublime truth coming through the years from Calvary." p. 54.

[43] Powderly, *Thirty Years of Labor,* p. 561. The figures for membership in 1881 were 19,422, and in 1882, 42,517. Commons and Associates, *op. cit.,* II, 344.

[44] PP, Letter-file, June 1881-Jan. 1882, George K. Lloyd to Powderly, November 27, 1881.

[45] PP, Lb., Oct. 1880-Jan. 1883, p. 443, Powderly to John S. B. Coggeshall, February 28, 1882.

In March of that year the Grand Master Workman handed down one of his "decisions."[46] It made an exception for Catholics under the new ritual just as under the one previously used:

> Catholics are permitted to reveal to their spiritual advisers under the new A. K. as they formerly did under the old.
>
> They may if necessary reveal the A. K. to any clergyman. There is nothing in it that any friend to labor need blush for if revealed.[47]

On sending instructions with regard to the process of re-instatement, he sought to relieve an anxious mind. "Yes," he wrote," a Knight has the same right to confess as before."[48] That he did not intend to restrict consultation with priests only to the sacramental type is evident from his assurance to Catholics that the organization was as public and respectable as any trade union: "Yes you may show the ritual to the priest; there is nothing in it to be ashamed of. Members may confess as before. Our order is now no more a secret organization than the Iron Moulders Union or any trade union."[49]

Yet the secrecy of the Knights of Labor, in the extent to which it remained, was sufficient to constitute a certain degree of misunderstanding. Several years after the oath had been abolished by the Knights of Labor their leader wrote what became a constant refrain of advice, "You may explain everything to the priest. We have no secrets from him."[50] Since, however, their doings were still occult, distorted beliefs about their practices were not easily rectified. Hence Powderly expressed surprise as late as 1885 to hear the charge of the oath raised again.[51]

Soon after his successful struggle within the Knights to substitute for the solemn swearing a mere word of honor, the Master Workman found that they were not yet free from the unfavorable scrutiny of churchmen. He insisted to a correspondent in Erie, Pennsylvania:

---

[46] Some of Powderly's answers to queries, usually involving the interpretation of a regulation of the order, were marked "Decision." This seems to have been intended to give them extra weight.

[47] PP, Lb., Oct. 1880-Jan. 1883, p. 462, Powderly to Thomas Todd, March 6, 1882.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 562, Powderly to Charles W. Mooney, April 14, 1882.

[49] PP, Lb., Apr.-July 1882, p. 296, Powderly to [ ] Tecker, July 26, 1882.

[50] PP, Lb., Oct. 1884-May 1885, p. 18, Powderly to John B. Hamelin, November 3, 1884.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 362, Powderly to Thomas J. Lyons, April 9, 1885.

> I am somewhat surprised at the opposition of the Church for we are now no more secret than the most ordinary trade union. Different clergymen look with a different eye upon different societies except the Masons, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias and kindred societies for no man *can* be a Catholic and belong to either one. That is a rule of the Church but a labor society is regarded in a different light. I have fought the oath from the start. It has been abolished and any Catholic may confess everything. He can even show the A. K. to his pastor if necessary.[52]

On the other hand, he did not point out how much secrecy was retained. As late as 1891 the same A. K. forbade the revelation of any secret work of the assemblies and prohibited members from revealing, "to any employer or other person the name or person of anyone a member of the Order without permission of the member."[53] Accordingly, part of the Master Workman's task in reconciling the Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor was to show that this type of hidden operation enforced by word of honor was harmless to both ecclesiastical and civil society. Powderly saw early what was before him. He wrote:

> I am afraid the Church will make trouble for us. Ever since I assumed control it has been uphill work. On one side capital fighting us, on the other hand the clergy have assailed me in many places without a cause. Between the men who *love* God and the men who don't believe in God I have had a hard time of it.[54]

Although Powderly gave the clergy credit for being "men who love God," it cannot be as readily said that they were all so ultra-progressive in outlook as to be tolerant of half-concealed movements in the social body. In fact, it can be judged only from the hindsight of history that they spoke out at times without good and sufficient cause. It thus happened that "Molly Maguire" and "Mason" were two labels applied to Powderly by some of the clergy. To some extent these labels became attached to the whole order and further jeopardized its position in the eyes of the Catholic Church.

---

[52] PP, Lb., Apr.-July 1882, p. 286, Powderly to Thomas Burman, July 25, 1882.

[53] Quoted in Commons and Associates, *op. cit.,* II, 339, from *Adelphon Kruptos,* p. 16.

[54] PP, Lb., Apr.-July, 1882, p. 296, Powderly to [ ] Tecker, July 26, 1882.

The name of Molly Maguire went back to the early 1860's when the group to which it referred first became known in the mining districts of eastern Pennsylvania. "... until 1876 when it was finally stamped out, its criminal activity varied inversely in frequency and violence with the fortunes of the anthracite workers' union."[55] These poorly organized Irish Catholic coal miners, many of whom were also members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, formed what has been aptly described, in reference to their methods, as "a labor Ku Klux Klan." As early as 1862 at the time of the draft riots, Bishop James F. Wood of Philadelphia tried to exercise a restraining influence over them. Throughout the years that followed many priests, both by preaching and advice, also continued this pacifying work. The Bishop of Philadelphia went so far as to condemn the A. O. H. which was popularly believed to have been the mother group of the Molly Maguires.[56] Coleman comes to an authoritative conclusion, nevertheless, that it is unjust to malign the Catholic clergy of the coal region, either for not taking part in the prosecution, or, on the contrary, for condemning the order in any way.

> Both of these criticisms are unjust, for despite the fact that the clergy recognized the injustice under which the laboring class was suffering, they adopted a fearless and uncompromising attitude toward improper methods of remedying the situation. They knew, furthermore, that when a secret society countenanced violent industrial coercion, it would attract evil men who would use it as a screen to commit crimes unrelated to social ills.[57]

In 1874, despite personal danger to themselves, seven of the clegry issued a denunciation of the Mollies. Within a year suspects had begun to be arrested and the leaders executed for murder. Thus, what appeared to be an excessively militant labor organization was dispersed, and strangely enough, some of the cost of the investigation and trial was borne by the mining and railroad interests![58]

---

[55] Commons and Associates, *op. cit.*, II, 181.

[56] J. Walter Coleman, *Labor Disturbances in Pennsylvania, 1850-1880* (Washington, 1936), p. 74. This is not only the most recent work on the subject, but it is the most satisfactory one for the consideration of the religious factor.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 173.

If the secret character of the Molly Maguires was not sufficient to confuse it with the Knights of Labor, the proximity of its place of origin certainly was. Many early assemblies of the K. of L. fanned out through the eastern section of Pennsylvania from Philadelphia. One of its earliest organizers in the western part of the state gave evidence of this fact in the days when the order was still known only as the "Five Stars." Editor John N. Davis noted that:

> The organization of the various trades into a secret labor organization has been conducted in the east to very satisfactory results. . . . The principles of the organization are such as to allow all who toil in it, without reference to craft. It is the latest and most successful effort of labor to combine for its own defense. The obligation of secrecy gives it permanency and safety.[59]

It was such mysterious gatherings of workers that, even before Powderly's rise to national leadership, made it appear that the old terror of the anthracite coal field was again stalking the roads. The clergy, as might be expected, arrayed themselves on the side of law and order.

Something of the evil reputation of the Mollies seemed to have been inherited by the Knights, especially among the churchmen who had known the former. An indication of this is seen in an inquiry of the Scranton labor leader concerning an unusual alliance made by the agency responsible for the breaking up of the Molly Maguires:

> Is it true that Fr. Riley [*sic*][60] has called to his aid the "Pinkerton Detective Agency" [?] Did he call his congregation together and read off a list of names handed him by the detectives? Let me know the truth. You cannot believe newspaper reports.[61]

---

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 168.

[59] Pittsburg *National Labor Tribune*, March 13, 1875. Quoted in Commons et al., *op. cit.*, X, 33.

[60] A letter of the following week identifies him: "What do you think of Fr. O'Riley [*sic*] of Shenandoah . . . little game." PP, Lb., Aug. 1878-Sept. 1879, p. 187, Powderly to P. M. Couniff, March 20, 1879. During his testimony, James McParlan, the Pinkerton detective spy in the Molly Maguire cases, remarked, "He said that I could go to . . . Father Reilly of Shenandoah, and they knew more about it than he did." Quoted in Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

That very day Powderly relayed the news to a brother knight in a letter which betrays his own peculiar blend of bitter feeling and religiosity. He wrote:

> Bro. Leary is getting some hard knocks from Father Riley [*sic*] but I guess he'l [*sic*] survive. When a priest calls in the aid of a detective he must have lost faith in his redeemer, and I prefer the religion of Christ to that of *Pinkerton.*[62]

It was over a year later that Powderly was given an opportunity to speak his mind again on the Mollies. He wrote to testify to the character of a certain John McDonald, for whom he vouched as a peaceful member of the Father Mathew Temperance Society, and certainly not a Molly.

> The simple fact of a man's coming from Scranton brands him as a Molley [*sic*] when the truth of the matter is there has never been a single Molly Maguire outrage perpetrated in this city, and *we have no Molleys* [*sic*] *here.*[63]

Yet the fear of identification with the old Irish miners' group remained with Powderly. When an outrage occurred at Dunbar Furnace in his home state, he sent Grand Secretary Litchman a list of names in a newspaper to check off any possible members of the order. He expressed his anxiety lest the present charge that the Molly Maguires had been revived might develop into an accusation against the "*****", as the Knights were publicly known at that time.[64] He gave what appears to be his final answer to this charge, and in attempting to disprove a reputed connection, he certainly did not endear the order or its leader to the Catholic clergy. These were his words:

> Our order is not akin to the Molly McGuires [*sic*], even though the G. M. W. is an *Irishman.* I am sick of that term being slung at

---

[61] PP, Lb., Aug. 1878-Sept. 1879, p. 163, Powderly to M. A. Leary, March 12, 1879.

[62] *Ibid.,* p. 185, Powderly to Charles Litchman, March 12, 1879.

[63] PP, Lb., Dec. 1880-Dec. 1883, p. 9, Powderly to A. A. Calhoun, December 4, 1880. Coleman mentions no violence in that town.

[64] PP, Lb., Oct. 1880-Jan. 1883, p. 263, Powderly to Charles Litchman, August 21, 1881.

> us. There never existed such an association,[65] and as long as workingmen will lend a willing ear to the slanders of capital just so long will capital be able to control us through our prejudices.
>
> They call me Molly McGuire [*sic*], Communist, Socialist, Nihilist, and every epithet that the tongue of slander and malice can invent, but so long as the God who made me gives me life and strength just so long will I strive with what little ability I possess to win for laboring downtrodden humanity *all* its rights and that without spilling one drop of blood.[66]

It is not very surprising, although some may think it reprehensible, that among the other names hurled at Powderly, especially by Catholic priests, should be that of "Mason." The wonder is it occurred so seldom that only once in his correspondence does he give much attention to it. Even a vague knowledge of the fact that the Knights used ceremonial and regalia in secrecy would readily have given rise to the specter of Masonry.[67] According to Powderly's memoirs, as early as 1871, before entering the order he had been unjustly condemned as a Mason because a priest of the Scranton cathedral was confused by the design on his membership button in the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union.[68] Years later the Master Workman indicated, however, that the Knights of Labor had a real relationship to the Masonic fraternal societies. In an interview concerning a clique that was opposing his administration, and at the same time claiming to have been among the founders of the order so as to strengthen their case, Powderly said in part: "During the conversation Mr. McAuley admitted that the ritual of the Knights of Labor was taken verbatim et literatim from that of the Knights of Pythias."[69]

Even without a knowledge of this background, a look into the *Adelphon Kruptos* would have been enough to arouse the suspicions of almost any Catholic priest. The initial "rubric" of the opening service for meetings might be taken as an example:

---

[65] Powderly is not alone in this view. Cf. Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[66] PP, Lb., Apr.-July 1882, p. 69, Powderly to William F. Hickey, May 17, 1882.

[67] Cf. appendix of *The Path I Trod* for an indication of the signs, symbols, and seal of the Knights of Labor.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 318.

[69] New York *Sun,* June 8, 1889. There was a Robert McCauley on the first ritual committee. Powderly, *Thirty Years of Labor,* p. 142.

> A Globe being placed on the outside of the Outer Veil; a copy of the Sacred Scriptures closed, and a box or basket containing blank cards on a triangular Altar, red in color, in the centre of the vestibule; a Lance on the outside of the Inner Veil, or entrance to the Sanctuary, over the wicket. . . .[70]

So, too, with regard to the use of regalia, the Knights seemed to have followed the regular pattern of secret fraternal groups. The difference of a few years may be observed from two extracts from the regular letterbooks of the organization's affairs. On June 8, 1881, Powderly wrote: "The general assembly makes no provisions for the use of regalias and of course none can be used by authority or sanction of the order . . . there seems to be a growing sentiment in favor of regalias."[71] Two years later he sent out the following request: "Will you have the kindness to send me a catalogue of your society's goods, that is, if it contains swords and sword belts."[72]

Despite these deceiving appearances, the head of the order probably felt justified when he answered the charges of one "misinformed" priest, Father William Walsh of Schuylkill Falls, by noting for the benefit of his ecclesiastical superior:

> He certainly was imposed upon by some person or he would not have stated to Mr. Turner[73] that I was a "Free Mason," for I am not, nor never was, nor do I ever intend to be either a Free Mason or a member of any kindred society.[74]

---

[70] Commons et al., *op. cit.*. X, 20.

[71] PP, Lb., Oct. 1880-Jan. 1883, p. 199, Powderly to M. S. Finigan, June 8, 1881.

[72] PP, Lb., Jan. 1883-Apr. 1884, p. 75, Powderly to H. G. Osterle, May 7, 1883. Yet in the initiation ceremony the Master Workman advised the new member, "The only regalia, is that of neat, tidy dress." *Adelphon Kruptos* (No place, or date of publication but after removal of oath in January, 1882), p. 17.

[73] Frederick Turner of Philadelphia was secretary-treasurer of the Knights and a member of the General Executive Board.

[74] His sentiments expressed to an intimate associate are probably more reliable: "Father Walsh should be careful of bearing false witness against his neighbor. I am no Mason and if I were I would not be ashamed of it." PP, Lb., Oct. 1884-May 1885, p. 7, Powderly to Charles Litchman, October 28, 1884.

He saw fit to add a possible explanation for the origin of the story, and to give a defense of his Catholicism without making too specific a statement about his living up to religious obligations:

> It is unfortunately too true that many Irishmen believe that an Irishman who succeeds either in politics or any other field must necessarily belong to some secret society. I do not lay claim to being a good Catholic, nor have I any recollection of ever seeing one who could say he was any better in that respect than he ought to be, but while I candidly admit that I am not as devout as I should be yet I have never permitted myself to neglect attending to my duties as a Catholic.

In the same letter, however, Powderly indicated a more concrete basis for misunderstanding on the part of churchmen, viz., the kinship of the K. of L. and Freemasonry. Describing the organization of the society to the Archbishop of Philadelphia he admitted:

> The founders of the order (seven in number) were for the most part members of the Masonic order and the impress of their teachings in that order was stamped on the ritual and constitution of the K. of L. . . . I was admitted to it with full knowledge of the oath and its bearings. I knew that Catholics could not join it, or if they did they could not remain members of it.

Yet Powderly claimed he continued in the order because he saw it was the only salvation for the workingman. As soon as he achieved influence he began to put forward his policy of reconciliation with the Church.[75] Evidently, the alleged Masonic connection of the Knights, as well as the feared revival in its ranks of the Molly Maguires, was not such an important ground for misunderstanding on the part of the Church as was its genuine secrecy. By the middle of the 1880's, however, it was its apparent radicalism which came to be the great concern of American Catholic churchmen. The inner story of the order would indicate that there was some basis for their fears.

Almost of necessity, during the period of Powderly's leadership there were radicals of various hues in the Knights of Labor. Although a candidate could be "blackballed" by a local assembly, yet such a decision as the following guaranteed a wide variety of members:

---

[75] PP, Lb., May 1883-Dec. 1885, pp. 106-108, Powderly to Archbishop Patrick J. Ryan, October 24, 1884.

> It makes no difference whether a man belongs to any other society or not. He is eligible to membership in the K. of L. provided he does not get his living as one of the proscribed classes mentioned in sec. 3 article 1 of L. A. constitution.[76] If his character for honesty, workmanship and general behavior etc. is good he cannot be declared ineligible. The ballot box then decides whether he can join the Assembly.[77]

Thus it happened that for years as Grand Master Workman of the order Terence Powderly had to answer the vociferous socialists of several types who found their way into the Knights.

There occurred during the 1880's in the United States a three-fold division among these would-be followers of Karl Marx. The Socialist Labor Party had its center and its charter in New York City, and during this violent decade it was the least conspicuous, since it advocated peaceful change. Affiliated with the London International, which had been re-established in 1881, were two distinct groups, the International Working People's Association and the International Workingmen's Association, called respectively, the "Black" and the "Red" International.[78] The "Reds," who had their main strength west of the Mississippi, were not so anxious for immediate violence as the Black Internationalists, who cried for the prompt use of force. These anarchists became the bogey of the American public during the period of the 1880's. The milder groups, the I. W. A. and the Socialist Labor Party merged in 1887. At any rate, a certain amount of reproach was attached to all these brands of socialism in the popular mind, and the K. of L. shared in it in so far as it was connected with them. The Catholic viewpoint was, of course, strongly influenced by the encyclical letter of Leo XIII, condemning the socialists of that day.[79]

---

[76] This section read: "No person who either sells or makes a living, or any part of it, by the sale of intoxicating drink, either as manufacturer, dealer or agent, or through any member of the family, can be admitted to membership in this Order, and no lawyer, banker, professional gambler or stock broker can be admitted." *Constitution of the General Assembly, District Assemblies, and Local Assemblies of the Order of the Knights of Labor of America* (no place or date of publication, but from internal evidence after October, 1885), pp. 62-63.

[77] PP, Lb., Oct. 1884-May 1885, p. 344, Powderly to Myer Angle, March 20, 1885.

[78] Commons and Associates, *op. cit.,* II, 290-300.

It cannot be denied that there were socialists and anarchists on the membership rolls of the Knights of Labor. Professor Ely, writing in 1886 as one rather favorable to the Knights and to Powderly, pointed out that a labor organization could hardly be expected to examine the theory of society held by each prospective member and to reject those who did not agree with the majority opinion. "It must be remembered," he further observed, "that Socialists who are fired with missionary zeal join the organization purposely to make converts to their faith."[80] Joseph R. Buchanan, leader in the Rocky Mountain district of both the K. of L. and the International Workingmen's Association, gave similar testimony:

> . . . when opposition to me developed among the conservatives in the labor movement, it was charged that I had tried to turn the trade union and Knights of Labor movements into the socialistic camp. I was not entitled to the credit,—or the charge, as you look at it,—for there were other workers just as earnest as I. I did my share, no more.[81]

Although Buchanan through his influential labor paper, the Denver *Inquirer,* was often taken for an anarchist, he insisted that he spoke of the use of force in order to warn, not to threaten.[82]

The threat of violence, the socialist "propaganda of deed," became an actuality in Haymarket Square in Chicago on May 4, 1886, when a bomb was thrown into a squad of police who were dispersing a mass meeting of workers. Although Powderly refused any expression of sympathy or support for the eight anarchists brought to a farcial trial for the deed, still the fact that one of them, Albert R. Parsons, had been a member of the Knights for ten years did not help the cause of the society before the general public. This

---

[79] *Quod Apostolici Muneris,* December 28, 1878. Cf. Joseph Husslein (Ed.), *Social Wellsprings* (Milwaukee, 1940), I, 14-23.

[80] Richard F. Ely, *The Labor Movement in America* (New York, 1886), p. 282.

[81] Joseph R. Buchanan, *The Story of A Labor Agitator* (New York, 1903), p. 135.

[82] *Ibid.,* p. 129.

"Haymarket Affair," together with the failure of the Southwest strike on the Jay Gould railroad system that same year, is generally considered to mark the beginning of the decline of the power and influence of the Knights of Labor.[83]

Powderly certainly was not in favor of identifying the order with socialism, although his reasons seem to have been purely pragmatic. He said of the socialists, "they accomplish but little by their agitation for they drive good men off by shaking the red flag right in their face first thing."[84] He was expressing no ideological opposition when he added, "their principles are sound but their advocates injudicious." The Master Workman clarified this position a little further when he explained to one of the brothers in lines marked, *"Confidential,"* why he did not appear publicly at a function in Philadelphia:

> I saw names announced at that meeting of prominent *Socialists,* and while I entertain socialistic ideas myself I like to see them practically put forth, and had I gone down and appeared on the platform it would be telegraphed to the four corners of the earth that the K. of L. was a socialist society, and that would scare the timid away.[85]

An accepted historian of American socialism is of the opinion that although parts of the constitution of the Knights of Labor were influenced by socialistic teachings, the organization as such was never really dominated by that school of thought. Especially under Powderly, socialist inroads were blocked, at least until 1893, when the Socialist Labor Party of New York City gave effective help in getting him out of office.[86] These facts are discerned in true perspective only after the passage of years, but they were not widely realized during those hectic days which led up to the "Great Upheaval" of 1886. The very name of socialist, communist, or anarchist, especially as treated in the conservative press, continued to frighten the average American, and such included also churchmen.

---

[83] Mary R. Beard, "Knights of Labor," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1932), VIII, 582. This traditional view is questioned in Henry David, *History of the Haymarket Affair* (New York, 1936), pp. 535-536.

[84] PP, Lb., Apr.-July, 1882, p. 17, Powderly to Robert Layton, May 1, 1882.

[85] *Ibid.,* p. 154, Powderly to James McFeely, June 6, 1882.

[86] Morris Hillquit, *History of Socialism in the United States* (New York, 1910), pp. 267-268.

There was an added reason why Terence V. Powderly, whose name and person had become almost a symbol for the whole order, should have been subjected to uncomplimentary epithets. He was in politics as well as in the labor movement. From 1878 to 1884 he was the Greenback-Labor Mayor of Scranton. After losing out on an appointment as the first commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the creation of which had been strongly fostered by the K. of L., the head of the order wrote to President Chester Arthur, simply, "to set myself right in your eyes." He stated his case because he had heard from an authoritative source that he had lost the chance for the position through a story conveyed to the chief executive. It had been said that at a meeting in Philadelphia, Powderly, "had pulled out and waved . . . the red card or flag of the Commune or the Socialists." His defense concluded:

> I wish to disabuse your mind of the idea that I am a communist or that I ever advocated their methods. I am an American and believe sincerely in American methods. I have never waved their flag nor do ever intend to. [*sic*] The flag of my country is good enough for me.[87]

In that letter Powderly thoroughly disavowed communism or socialism, but still he displayed an interest in them. Writing to an American organizer who had been sent abroad, he gave some advice and then requested:

> Will you kindly favor me with such labor literature as you may chance to run across, and particularly such as relates to cooperation. Another feature I wish you observe and take notes on is to what extent socialism or communism influences the workingmen where you travel. I wish to learn from a reliable source whether the ideas given forth on this side are correct as to the widespread growth of Socialism in Europe.[88]

The inquiring labor leader apparently let his interest go even beyond the academic stage. At least twice, on the occasion of general conventions of the order, he was accused of being a socialist.

---

[87] PP, Lb., May 1883-Dec. 1885, pp. 111-112, Powderly to Chester A. Arthur, November 11, 1884.

[88] PP, Lb., Oct. 1884-May 1885, p. 62, Powderly to A. G. Denny, November 18, 1884.

At Richmond in 1886 he explained the report by saying, "I did receive a membership card from the secretary of the socialist party, but I have never affiliated with them."[89] A year later at Minneapolis, the General Master Workman was faced with the same charge. His attitude of disapproval on the question of violence during the strikes of 1886, and his negotiations with churchmen had won the scorn of the radicals. Joseph Labadie, his erstwhile socialist friend from Detroit, was determined to demand from Powderly why he had gone back on his socialistic principles, he "who for years was a member of the socialist party."[90]

It was the same Labadie, the first organizer of the Knights in Michigan (according to his own claim), who several years before had given Powderly an opportunity of adding to the external appearance of radicalism in the order. He submitted an article of extremist sentiments for Powderly's approval, although the secretary at Philadelphia had charge of the official publication, the *Journal of United Labor*. Labadie foresaw:

> Some fine-haired, thin-skinned cuss might kick, to use a graceful term, against communism or socialism being discussed in *The Journal*, but I believe workingmen must be put right on these subjects, even though we do lose some damm [*sic*] fools. Read it, and if you think it right to be published, send it to the G. S. . . .

He concluded by remarking that several papers would publish anything of his no matter how radical, but he thought this would give the Knights food for thought.[91] Powderly's answer, agreeing to publish the piece in the next issue, indicated at least his willingness in the early years of his leadership to co-operate with even the most radical. Since it contained criticism of remarks of the Protestant Bishop of Durham in England, he added:

---

[89] Baltimore *Sun*, October 15, 1886.

[90] New York *Sun*, October 4, 1887.

[91] PP, Letter-file, June-Oct. 1882, Joseph Labadie to Powderly, May 30, 1882. The G. S. was the Grand Secretary. After September, 1883, the word "grand" in all the official titles became "general." The official publication was later called the *Journal of the Knights of Labor*.

> Are you not afraid of incurring the wrath of the Almighty in contradicting such a luminary as his gr(e)ace [*sic*] the Archbishop [?] Alas! I am afraid my teachings are thrown away on you. [This sentence is followed by a caricature of a face with one eye closed in a wink.][92]

Obviously, to admit such views as those of Labadie to the pages of the official organ of the society was to add to the danger of ecclesiastical opposition. The leader of the Knights might have held a party membership card, entertained many radical ideas, and written about them in private correspondence, and still possibly have escaped another obstacle in good relations with the Catholic Church. However, he had gone beyond this. Within a few years Powderly found it necessary to write this quibbling answer to a member:

> The Journal is not a socialistic organ, it is owned and managed by the K. of L. alone. The order deals with social questions and we have socialists as members no doubt, but that does not make the order socialistic (in the prevailing acceptation of the term).[93]

As 1886, the memorable year of labor upheaval began, however, the head of the Knights spoke more plainly. He found that his earlier co-operation with radical elements, and now his lack of control over them, were bearing fruit among the unruly branches of the organization. He insisted:

> The K. of L. is not an anarchist school. . . . It is not a communistic order. It is simply an American labor organization with an object in view and if a member does not feel like complying with law let him step down and out. The men who call themselves "advanced thinkers" are seldom workers. They disorganize but *never* organize.[94]

He protested to another brother the making of socialistic, anarchistic, and "dynamite" speeches, and he added this apologia: "I am neither a socialist, nor an anarchist. I am a Knight of Labor and nothing else and I have no use for the fools who are constantly prating about what they will do by physical force."[95] This plea of "conservatism" was to be used to good purpose by Terence V. Powderly in seeking the toleration of the Catholic Church for the Knights.

---

[92] PP, Lb., Apr.-July 1882, p. 167, Powderly to Joseph Labadie, June 8, 1882.

[93] PP, Lb., Oct. 1884-May 1885, p. 194, Powderly to George Hess, December 31, 1884.

[94] PP, Jan.-Mar. 1886, p. 45, Powderly to Calvin Ewiggi, January 25, 1886.

The Catholic priests and bishops of the United States could hardly help being impressed by the apparent radicalism of the Knights of Labor, just as some had found reason for suspicion in its secrecy and its resemblance to already forbidden social groups. They were not, of course, all equally well informed or deeply concerned with the labor movement. However, it must be said, even after seeing the outlines of the story from Powderly's correspondence, that they did not find fault with the essential question of labor's rights which the order sought to foster. The features of the Knights of Labor that were accidental to it as a labor group provided the basis for most of the clerical misunderstanding.

The clearing up of these difficulties was left in the hands of the twelve archbishops of the United States who were guided by the decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. To their credit, as well as to Powderly's, they proceeded, at least as a body, according to the idea expressed in a favorite letter-head slogan of the Knights, "Hear both sides, then judge." The final outcome has proved a blessing both to the Catholic Church and to the labor movement in the United States.

HENRY J. BROWNE

The Catholic University of America

---

[95] PP, Mar.-Apr. 1886, p. 72, Powderly to John W. Gilson, April 6, 1886.

LEGISLATIVE CONTROL OF THE SOUTHERN FREE NEGRO, 1861-1865

THE approach of hostilities between the North and South caused the Southern states to reconsider one of their perennial problems—the control of their Negro population. Some southerners were alarmed at the possibility that earlier devised patterns and techniques would not withstand the crisis of war. Southern states began designing a policy of legislative control for this purpose which, it was felt, would supplement and bolster the informal agencies which naturally existed in a region where slavery had existed for more than two centuries.[1] There were more than three and a half million Negroes, slave and free, in the eleven southern states which composed the Confederacy;[2] and in some areas, the Negro population equalled or outnumbered the white population.[3] The existence of this large Negro population caused fear and alarm that the inability to control this group would endanger the success of the "cause" and hamper efforts to prosecute the war. Southern whites, it must be remembered, were always fearful of a general Negro uprising; some reasoned that the Civil War would be the occasion for such a movement.[4]

The problem of establishing effective legislative controls for the southern Negro population was considered almost simultaneously with the outbreak of hostilities, and in some areas, even before.[5] The laws which resulted "were framed with the idea of securing the subordination of an inferior race to a superior one,"[6] concludes one student of the period. In the main, these laws had a twofold purpose: (1) to keep the Negro subjected and intimidated and (2) to prevent communication between Negroes and Unionists because, it was feared, the latter would communicate ideas of insurrection and rebellion. There is great similarity in the legislation of southern states during the Civil War covering the subject of "Negro control;" and while there is no evidence that a conscious policy of state cooperation was developed, both the aims and the methods of the several states were identical. This, no doubt, resulted from the fact that the sentiment which produced these statutes was the same in the various southern states where they appeared.

---

[1] Bell I. Wiley, *Southern Negroes, 1861-1865* (New Haven, 1938), pp. 33-40, treats this legislative policy as it concerned the slave.

[2] United States Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population, 1790-1915* (Washington, 1919), p. 53.

[3] J. D. B. DeBow, *Review of the Agricultural, Commercial and Industrial Progress and Resources of the Southern States,* XXXI (1862), 555. Cf. also C. S. Henry, "Negro Sentiment During the Civil War," in *North American Review,* XCV (1862), 534, 537.

[4] E. F. Adams, *The War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl* (New York, 1908), p. 50; Savannah *Daily Morning News,* January 3, 1862; Benjamin F. Butler, *Correspondence* (Norwood, Massachusetts, 1917), VI, 186.

[5] This policy of control was neither new nor original in 1861. For many years prior to this date, southern legislatures had given much attention to the matter and had placed a great deal of control-legislation on the statute books to combat the influences of abolitionist and anti-slavery forces.

In the main, legislation enacted for the control of southern Negroes made a distinction between the free Negro and the slave. An examination of the laws on the subject reveals that, in most instances, separate and specific laws were enacted for the control of the former group. These statutes generally imposed restrictions on movement, communication, employment, and the carrying of weapons. Full enforcement of the statutes would result in the Negro's being kept under almost constant surveillance.

Despite the opinion of the "rebel war clerk" that Confederates had no fear of a Negro insurrection,[7] many southerners regarded the Negro as a suspcious and troublesome character — one who had to be constantly watched.[8] Strong evidences of Negro dissatisfaction were apparent in Virginia, South Carolina, and Louisiana in 1861. The situation was the more alarming because the Confederate conscription took many white males from the states. According to the testimony of one contemporary, Negroes of Georgetown, South Carolina were "ready to fight for freedom, if not under white leadership, then under black leadership."[9] Convictions of this sort appear to have supplied the sentiment and motivation which resulted in the enactment of legislation by the southern assemblies to deal with the "Negro problem."

---

[6] Wiley, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[7] J. B. Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate State Capitol* (Philadelphia, 1866), I, 278.

[8] Louis B. Pendleton, *Alexander H. Stephens* (Philadelphia, 1908), p. 220.

[9] Henry, *loc. cit.*, p. 534. A recent student of the period concludes: "A survey of the evidence of the period [1861-1865] makes inescapable the conclusion

The earliest and most restrictive enactments, which appeared between 1861-1865, were designed for the control of the free Negro population. Recent students of the period have tended to emphasize the Negro slave as the object of such legislation, but they have tended to overlook almost entirely the large amount of legislation enacted during the period which dealt exclusively with the free Negro.[10] A careful examination of these statutes reveals the development of a conscious legislative policy in regard to this Negro group, as well as to the slave. During the Civil War, southerners were fearful lest the free Negro, no less than the slave, would seek equality and question white domination. Convinced that the protection of southern institutions depended upon the ability of the South to control its Negro population, southern legislators, statesmen, planters, and "poor whites" combined to effect that control.

In order to crush immediately any insurrectionary tendency which might appear, "vigilance societies" were formed and "minute-men" enrolled in some communities. Organizations of this sort were usually spontaneous affairs, and they applied non-legal and extra-legal methods of control. They searched out and summarily dealt with any Negro whose actions might be interpreted as dangerous to the established pattern of race-relationships in the area. Free Negroes were

---

that disorder and unfaithfulness on the part of the Negroes were far more common than post-war commentators have usually admitted." —— Wiley, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[10] Bell I. Wiley, *Southern Negroes, 1861-1865,* is the best study which has yet appeared on the Negro behind Confederate lines during the Civil War. But this work deals largely with the plantation-slave during the war, almost to the neglect of the free Negro. The index to this monograph contains but six entries on the free Negro for the period. In 1860 there were 182,000 free Negroes in the Confederate states distributed as follows: North Carolina (30,463), Virginia (58,042), Louisiana (16,647), South Carolina (9,914), Tennessee (7,300), Georgia (3,500), Alabama (2,690), and smaller numbers in the remaining states. United States Bureau of the Census, *Population of the United States, 1860,* p. 173. Cf. Bernard H. Nelson, "The Negro in the Confederacy, 1861-1865," unpublished master's thesis, Howard University, 1935, for a treatment of both the free Negro and the slave between 1861-1865.

sometimes abused and persecuted by these societies which, some hold, were largely composed of ignorant poor whites and Confederate deserters.[11]

Complete reliance was not placed upon such informal, voluntary organizations. Rather, southern states began constructing their first conscious war-time policy of dealing with free Negroes. This policy might best be interpreted as one to clear the states of their "dangerous" free Negro populations by removal from the state and to seal state borders against the entrance of free Negroes who might come in from other states. Another conscious aspect of southern legislative policy, as it concerned free Negroes, was the reduction of the number of free Negroes within the state through either forced or voluntary re-enslavement. As these laws operated, free Negroes, classified as undesirables, were given a fixed time to remove themselves from the state.[12] Failure to comply resulted in the seizure, hiring-out — frequently for an indefinite period or for a period of ninety-nine years — or the enslavement of such persons.

It is in Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Virginia during the years 1861-1862 that one finds the desire to reduce the number of free Negroes within the state first implemented through legislative action. During the early months of 1861, the general assembly of Louisiana was informed by Governor Wickliff that legislation on the statute books was insufficient "to prevent the migration of free Negroes from other States into this state."[13] Despite rigid enforcement of prior legislation on the subject, the proposed purpose had not been accomplished; therefore, he recommended additional legislation. The legislature complied with the request by enacting a law which provided for the punishment of free Negroes who came into the state of Louisiana in contravention of the law.[14]

---

[11] J. H. Allen, "Our War Policy and How It Deals with Slavery," *Christian Examiner*, LXXIII (1862), 103 ff.; also Nathaniel W. Stephenson, *The Day of the Confederacy* (New Haven, 1924), p. 167; Tuscaloosa (Alabama) *Independent Monitor*, April 5, 1861.

[12] Cf. J. H. Partridge, *The False Nation and Its Bases* (London, 1864), pp. 20 ff.

[13] Message to the General Assembly, January 18, 1860, Louisiana, *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1860*, p. 8. The legislatures of both South Carolina and Georgia had similar legislation under consideration about the same time. Cf. South Carolina, *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1860,* p. 8 and Georgia, *Acts of the General Assembly, 1861,* p. 72. The South Carolina measure proposed the denial of entrance of any free Negro into the state except those who had "left the State in the service of any military commander."

Between 1860 and 1862 the assemblies of Virginia, Mississippi, and Georgia considered bills and resolutions which proposed enslavement as a means of ridding the state of its undesirable free Negroes. Early in 1862, the House of Delegates of Virginia considered a bill for "the speedy or gradual removal or enslavement of the free Negro population of the State."[15] It called upon all other Confederate states which had not already adopted similar measures to hasten and do so. This, it was held, was the best means of ridding the Confederacy of this "injurious population." However, there is no evidence that the proposed measure ever became law in Virginia.

An enactment of the legislature of Mississippi of 1861 conferred discretionary power upon the county boards of police in matters relating to the control of the free Negro population. Such authority extended to the creation of a licensing system whereby free Negroes, who appeared to be "of good conduct and in no wise dangerous to the community,"[16] would be granted licenses to remain in the counties. Free Negroes, who remained in the counties without licenses, were to be enslaved under authority of this enactment. It is impossible to determine how widely county police officials exercised the powers conferred by this authorization; but no evidence of a general licensing of free Negores can be found in Mississippi during these years. There were instances, however, similar to that involving Amy Clark of Perry County, where some free Negroes sought legislative dispensation to remain in the state.[17]

In 1861, Georgia, too, considered the problem of the entrance of free Negroes into the state from other states. A measure was enacted which was designed to prevent such persons from entering Georgia.[18]

---

[14] Louisiana, *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1861,* pp. 4, 20.

[15] Virginia, *Journal of the House of Delegates, 1863,* p. 14.

[16] Mississippi, *Journal of the Senate, 1861,* pp. 241, 276.

[17] *Ibid., Laws of the State, 1861-1862,* p. 246. In the instance cited, Amy Clark and her family were granted legislative permission to remain in the state.

[18] Georgia, *Acts of the General Assembly, 1861,* p. 72.

The law as enacted apparently failed to accomplish its purpose; and the following year, additional legislation was passed to strengthen this act. According to the terms of the latter act, free Negroes of the state were "authorized" to accept enslavement; those who refused "voluntary" enslavement were to be removed from the state.[19]

Arkansas adopted the dual policy of the removal of free Negroes from the state or their enslavement which was similar in many respects to the measure considered in Virginia early in 1861. This measure, enacted in 1861, granted free Negroes permission to select a master or mistress and to become a slave of that person.[20] Forced removal from the state was the alternative offered free Negroes under this act.

Negroes, who accepted enslavement under the law of Arkansas, were to be "held by such masters and mistresses [as they had selected] as slaves are now held in this State."[21] The master acquired property, not only in the person of the Negro enslaved, but in the minor children of such Negroes as well. To safeguard against the later manumission or lack of supervision of Negroes thus enslaved, the statute required that masters post "two good securities" with the state of the value of the Negro slave. It was further provided that Negroes enslaved under this act should not be permitted to hire themselves out, act for themselves, or own stock.[22] This latter provision seems to have been inspired by the desire to circumvent the possibility that these Negroes would become economic competitors of the poorer classes of whites. The Arkansas act represents the most drastic, as well as, the most comprehensive legislation of this character enacted by any southern state during the period under discussion.

All of the measures discussed above, which were merely considered or finally enacted into law, had one fundamental purpose: to lessen the "dangers" which resulted from the presence of a sizable free

---

[19] *Ibid., Journal of the Senate, 1862,* p. 155. The evidence reveals that many free Negroes left southern states in the face of the repressive policies adopted by these states. Cf. Charles H. Wesley, *Negro Labor in the United States* (New York, 1927), p. 98.

[20] Arkansas, *Acts of the General Assembly, 1861-1862,* p. 135.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *Ibid.*

Negro population within the state borders. Lessening of "dangers," in this instance, meant the reduction of the number of free Negroes within the state. Where forced removal from the state appeared an uncertain remedy, some states singled out special classes of free Negroes for ultimate enslavement. In most cases, these classes were composed of free Negroes who were delinquent taxpayers, manumitted slaves, or who had been convicted of violating a state statute.

In 1861, Georgia required every free Negro in the state to pay an annual tax of twenty-five dollars. Those persons who refused or who were unable to pay the tax were subject to arrest upon the written application of the tax collectors and receivers. On the next regular "county sale day" after arrest, these defaulters were to be hired-out "for such price and length of time as could produce the amount due the State."[23] During the period of "hire," the Negro defaulter was held under the conditions of and regarded as a slave.

Manumitted slaves in most of the southern states encountered serious difficulties in their efforts to enjoy the benefits of their new freedom. By 1862 the campaign to reduce the number of free Negroes in southern states led to the passage of legislation against this group of Negroes. An act of the general assembly of Arkansas of 1862 provided for the virtual enslavement of many manumitted slaves.[24] Slaves, who were manumitted by the last will and testament of masters who were indebted, were to be hired out under state authority until such indebtedness was paid. During the "period of hire," these Negroes were held as slaves and were subject to the same restrictions as slaves.[25]

Between 1861-1864 the state legislatures of Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia had under consideration or enacted legislation providing for the enslavement of all free Negroes who had been convicted of violating the laws of the state. A measure considered by the legislature of South Carolina in 1861 contained a provision for the "enslavement of Free Persons of Color convicted of certain offenses." It was debated at length in the lower chamber and passed, but it was defeated in the state senate.[26] Although measures of this kind failed of enactment in several instances, the basic policy involved in such legislation is clear.

---

[23] Georgia, *Acts of the General Assembly, 1861,* p. 88; also *1862,* p. 62.

[24] Arkansas, *Acts of the General Assembly, 1862*, pp. 72-75.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 75. One case which resulted from this law was the "hiring-out" of twenty-five newly-freed Negroes in Averette County, Arkansas, to pay off an unpaid claim of $3,000 left by their former and deceased master.

In 1861, Georgia authorized the sale of all free Negroes who were considered idle or vicious. A "vicious" free Negro was defined as one so situated as to exercise an "improper or mischievous influence upon slaves or mulattoes" in a particular neighborhood.[27] Some Georgia legislators criticized this act as too lenient; thus, a proposal was made in the following session to enslave all free Negroes of African descent found within the state.[28] The proposal received little consideration and failed of enactment. Legislation providing for the forced enslavement of all free Negroes within the state was considered by the legislatures of both North Carolina and Virginia between 1861 and 1864; but it appears that this repressive legislation was defeated in both states.[29]

Through enactments such as these, the states of the Confederacy sought to reduce the number of free Negroes within the states, if not to eliminate them altogether. The frequency with which the subject was debated is indisputable evidence that the idea and sentiment were fairly widespread and had the general approval of southern legislators and officials. Moreover, additional legislative barriers were raised to prevent additions to the free Negro population through manumission by benevolent masters. North Carolina forbade manumission by last will and testament in 1861, and declared null and void all wills which attempted to effectuate emancipation in this manner.[30] During the period of the Civil War, it was extremely difficult for a slave to rise to the status of a freedman; freedom could be acquired almost solely through the express action of the state legislature.[31] Such action was rarely taken.

---

[26] South Carolina, *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1861,* p. 20.

[27] Georgia, *Journal of the Senate, 1861,* pp. 137-138.

[28] *Ibid., Journal of the House of Representatives, 1862,* p. 49.

[29] Cf. North Carolina, *Journal of the Senate, 1862,* Sec. Sess., p. 49; also Virginia, *Journal of the Senate, 1864,* p. 40. The North Carolina measure proposing enslavement for all free Negroes, who had not "voluntarily sold their services for ninety-nine years," was discarded as too stringent a measure.

[30] North Carolina, *Public Laws, 1861,* p. 69.

Free Negroes, who remained in southern states during the period 1861-1865, were permitted to do so only so long as their actions evinced good behavior and so long as they were considered non-injurious to the "cause" and the security of the South. But theirs was an unenviable existence. The evidence reveals that southern states enforced policies and legislation against them which were both restrictive and repressive. Practically all personal liberties were suppressed, freedom of movement curtailed, and freedom to engage in specified occupations or to employ laborers forbidden.

The rigid occupational restrictions imposed upon free Negroes in southern states between 1861 and 1865 resulted from the discontent of white workingmen. White males who had not been conscripted for the Confederate army felt the competition of both the free Negro and the slave laborer in regard to employment. During the early months of the war, free Negroes easily found employment, especially in the mechanical trades. White workers complained that the employment of Negro workers deprived them of employment and resulted in actual suffering among white wage-earners.[32] Occupational and racial attitudes combined to demand legislative safeguards against the employment of free Negroes in some occupational areas.

As the difficulties of securing employment increased among the poor white working classes, an increasing number of petitions found their way before the legislatures of southern states. These petitions bore a request that legislative restrictions be placed on the employment of free Negroes in certain occupations. Southern legislatures, ever on the alert to implement their policies of repression and subjugation, generally responded promptly by the enactment of legislation designed to remove the competition of which the petitioners complained. A typical petition of the kind discussed here is that of a group of white mechanics of Cheraw County, South Carolina which was sent to the state legislature in 1861. These petitioners asked for the enactment of a law "prohibiting free Negroes and Persons of Color from carrying on mechanical pursuits."[33] The legislature granted the relief sought by the enactment of a statute which forbade free Negroes to contract for any mechanical employment or to engage in the mechanical trades on their own account.[34] Louisiana placed similar occupational restrictions upon free Negroes in that state in 1861; and Virginia took the same action in the following year.[35]

---

[31] Emancipation by legislative action was granted only in return for the rendition of some unusual service to the state such as the revelation of plots against the government. Cf. Mississippi, *Journal of the Senate, 1861-1862*, p. 391, *Laws of the State, 1862-1863*, p. 213, and *1864*, p. 47 for typical cases.

[32] Charles Nordhoff, *America for the Free Workingman* (New York, 1865), p. 7; also Wesley, *op. cit.*, p. 96, for a discussion of the unrest among white workers in Mississippi in 1861. This unrest he attributes to fear of competition from the Negro laborer.

In areas where free Negro contractors were successful, they frequently employed both Negro and white workers.[36] Not infrequently these contractors owned slaves and worked them in mechanical pursuits. Some southern states had forbidden the employment of white workers by Negro contractors prior to the opening of hostilities.[37] During the period of the war, an effort was made to prevent free Negroes from owning, hiring, or controlling slaves. Where these attempts were made they aimed to correct two southern grievances against the free Negro: (1) they would prevent the slave from imbibing ideas of freedom and insurrection through association with free Negroes; and (2) they would prevent the free Negro contractor, employing cheap slave labor, from underbidding white mechanics.

North Carolina appears to have been one of the first southern states to enact legislation on the subject of occupational restrictions for free Negroes during the period 1861-1865. Here a law was enacted in February, 1861, which forbade free Negroes to "buy, purchase, or hire for any length of time, any slave or slaves bound as apprentice or apprentices to him, her, or them."[38] Violation of this act was punishable by a fine of one hundred dollars for each offense. The law was not retroactive and was interpreted as placing no restrictions upon free Negroes who were the legal owners of slaves at the time the act was passed. Four months before the opening of hostilities, Georgia forbade free Negroes to keep eating-places or public tables or to carry on commerce in poultry or dairy products.[39] Negroes engaging in occupations in violation of the law were subject to a fine of fifty dollars for the first offense and one hundred dollars for the second.

---

[33] South Carolina, *Journal of the Senate, 1861*, p. 58.

[34] *Ibid.*, *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1861*, p. 20.

[35] Louisiana, *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1861*, p. 42; Virginia, *Journal of the House of Delegates, 1861-1862*, p. 338. The Louisiana measure placed the prohibition upon both free Negroes and slaves, particularly in regard to public works.

[36] Wesley, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

[37] Cf. Louisiana, *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1860*, p. 22.

In the days of the Confederacy, as before, the free Negro had few personal rights and no legal means of protecting life or property. Outrages against his person and property went unpunished, for he was denied even ordinary police protection. Where white persons were involved, he was forbidden to give testimony, although his testimony might be essential for his own defense.[40] One state, Louisiana, considered, but did not enact, a measure which would prevent free Negroes from causing the arrest of white persons.[41]

The free Negro in the South was always looked upon as a suspicious character. Any free Negro who carried any kind of weapon or instrument capable of inflicting a wound, was held to be dangerous to the public safety. Before the Civil War, most slave states had already enacted legislation forbidding free Negroes to carry weapons of any sort. The prospects of war caused those states without such legislation to add similar measures to their legal codes. Late in December, 1860, Georgia forbade any free Negro to purchase "any weapon which might be used in either offense or defense;"[42] and the following year, South Carolina enacted a prohibition against the carrying of firearms.[43] In 1861 North Carolina forbade free Negroes "to carry, wear about their person, or keep in their houses, any shot-gun, rifle, pistol, powder, or shot."[44] Moreover, all licenses which had been previously issued to free Negroes permitting the same were revoked by this act.

---

[38] North Carolina, *Journal of the Senate, 1860-1861,* p. 465; also *Public Laws, 1861,* p. 69.

[39] Georgia, *Acts of the General Assembly, 1864,* pp. 92 ff. For a treatment of pre-Civil War occupational restrictions, see Wesley, *op. cit.,* pp. 79-82.

[40] Louisiana, *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1860,* pp. 55, 62; also *1861,* p. 23. In Georgia in 1861, an unsuccessful effort was made to have the use of "abusive, impudent, or insulting language" by Negroes to whites declared an offense against the laws of the state. Georgia, *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1861,* p. 75.

[41] Louisiana, *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1860,* pp. 39, 54.

[42] Georgia, *Acts of the General Assembly, 1860,* p. 56.

The status of the free Negro in the South under the repressive "race" legislation of 1861-1865 was hardly enviable. As the policy of control became more clearly defined and was implemented by an increasing number of laws directly affecting the free Negro, the benefits of freedom vanished. In no sense was the free Negro free: his speech, movement, and employment were restricted; he was subject to attack and abuse without provocation and without remedy. The condition of the slave appeared preferable by comparison.

The evidence seems to indicate that between 1861-1862 the repressive legislation of southern states had the effect of forcing many free Negroes into slavery by their own voluntary act. Perhaps these persons realized that the slave had far more protection and security than the free person of color. Free Negroes began petitioning state legislatures for permission to select masters or mistresses and take on the status of a slave. As life became more precarious for the free Negro under the repressive legislation and policies of the period, the number of petitions for permission to return to slavery tended to increase sharply. The largest number of petitions of this kind were addressed to the legislatures of Virginia, Georgia, and North Carolina.

The first petition addressed to the legislature of Virginia during the period by free Negroes was that of four free Negroes of Buckingham County. Dated February 28, 1861, and submitted by "George, Shed, Sam, and Sukey, negroes manumitted by the last will and testament of Archibald F. Gordon,"[45] the petition requested legislative permission to select masters and take on the condition of a slave. The permission requested was granted. Three weeks later a similar request was made by four free Negroes of Faquier and Page Counties.[46]

---

[43] South Carolina, *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1861,* p. 21.

[44] North Carolina, *Public Laws, 1861,* p. 68.

[45] Virginia, *Acts of the General Assembly, 1861,* p. 252.

Petitions of this sort became so numerous that the assembly enacted a general law which authorized any free Negro, who might so desire, to select a master and become a slave. The law established the procedure to be followed, the liabilities of the master, and the master's rights of control over all minor children of the slave.[47] It was specifically provided that any free Negro, who had resided in a county for a minimum of twelve months, might make application directly to the circuit court of the county for permission to select a master, rather than to the state legislature. The master selected was to be held liable for all debts of the free Negro which existed at the time of enslavement. Both the custody and control of all of the services of the enslaved Negro's minor children were vested in the master.

In Georgia, where repressive legislation against free Negroes was perhaps greater in volume and more severe than in any other southern state, many free Negroes expressed the desire to return to slavery. Eight separate petitions for this purpose were presented to the legislature of Georgia by free Negroes during the months of November and December, 1861. The legislature granted the permission requested — permission to become slaves — by the enactment of a general law on the subject.[48]

The Georgia enslavement act of 1861 provided for the creation of a board of appraisers to apply the provisions of the law. This board, composed of "three discreet persons of the County," was instructed "to appraise such individuals [free Negroes] at a modest cash value, not less than two-thirds of the real worth of said free Negroes."[49] The purchaser of the free Negro was required to pay the amount at which the Negro had been appraised into the treasury of the county in which the Negro resided. These funds were earmarked for "the relief of the indigent families of the volunteers now in the service of the State or Confederate States."[50]

---

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 254.

[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53. The report of the state auditor reveals that Virginia received $902.50 in 1861 alone from transactions whereby free Negroes were enslaved under this act. Cf. Virginia, *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1861*, Doc. 5, p. 652.

[48] Georgia, *Acts of the General Assembly, 1861*, p. 122; also *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1861*, p. 817 and *Journal of the Senate, 1861*, p. 207.

[49] *Ibid., Journal of the House of Representatives, 1861*, p. 817.

Despite this general law, the legislature of Georgia continued to act on individual petitions for enslavement. Such petitions were particularly numerous in 1862.[51] Negroes enslaved by legislative action in Georgia became slaves for life and were subject to all of the incidents of slavery. In some specific cases, it was provided that the newly-enslaved Negro could not be sold during his lifetime by either the master or the master's creditors.[52]

North Carolina, as Virginia and Georgia, was compelled to consider the problem of Negro enslavement under legislative authority. However, in this state the question took an unprecedented turn. It appears that petitions from free Negroes desiring to select masters and become slaves were numerous in 1861 and were inspired by the oppressive legislative policies of the state. The first petition, presented to the legislature on January 21, 1861, was sent to committee; however, it was unfavorably reported. Five days later, several additional petitions were presented by free Negroes "praying that they might select masters and become slaves."[53] On this occasion, the senate select committee was charged with the matter and was instructed to report a bill providing a general law covering the question. Before such a bill could be reported, the senate judiciary committee reported its opinion on the constitutional aspects of the question. In part, this report said:

> . . . according to the decisions of our Supreme Court, the Constitution recognizes free persons of color as citizens of this state, and being citizens the law must protect them in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property, except where they have forfeited the same for crime. Under our Constitution, therefore, as interpreted by our courts, no free person, either colored or white, can be enslaved by legislative enactment even by their own consent . . .[54]

---

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] Georgia, *Acts of the General Assembly, 1862,* p. 95.

[52] *Ibid., 1861,* p. 122.

[53] North Carolina, *Journal of the Senate, 1861-1862,* p. 95.

[54] *Ibid.,* p. 216.

The judiciary committee felt that the legislature was without the authority to confer upon any citizen "the power to exercise that absolute dominion over the person of any other citizen, much less over his posterity, as masters now exercise over the persons of their slaves."[55]

According to the point of view expressed by the committee, as long as the decisions of the court stood, the relief prayed for could not be granted by legislative enactment. A constitutional amendment was necessary before the legislature could legally enact the contemplated law. When free Negroes petitioned the assembly in 1862 for permission to select masters and become slaves, they were informed that the legislature was without the power to grant the request.[56] Thus, North Carolina never enacted a "re-enslavement law" as did Virginia and Georgia; and free Negroes there were unable legally to return to the slave status, even of their own consent and volition. The failure of the measure, however, does not appear to have improved the condition of the free Negro within the state. Both South Carolina and Louisiana considered similar legislation in 1861, but no law was enacted on the subject in either state.[57]

Despite the repressive legislative enactments of the period 1861-1865, which concerned the free Negro, the individual states of the Confederacy had no compunction against accepting the services of free Negroes for the defense of the state. Their services were accepted when offered and impressed when necessity seemed to demand it. Before the end of the Civil War, eight Confederate states had enacted legislation covering this subject. Perhaps the impressment of free Negroes, under state law, was but another aspect of the policy of establishing effective controls for the regulation and supervision of this part of the southern Negro population.

---

[55] *Ibid.*

[56] *Ibid., 1862-1863,* p. 90. It should be noted in this connection that efforts to force free Negroes to accept slavery or the sale of their services for a period of ninety-nine years, made in the same year, were also unsuccessful. The bill reported for this purpose was regarded as "too stringent" and was discarded. Cf. North Carolina, *Journal of the Senate, 1862,* Sec. Sess., p. 40.

[57] South Carolina, *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1861,* pp. 78, 209; Louisiana, *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1861,* pp. 32, 34, 81.

From the evidence, one can conclude that local action usually preceded state action in the organization and impressment of free Negroes for military purposes. Local authorities enrolled free Negroes for military purposes early in 1861 even in the absence of a grant of express authority by the state or Confederate governments. Local action of this kind was taken by the cities of Charleston, Memphis, and New Orleans, between January and May, 1861.[58] Free Negroes "enrolled" by local action were employed in the construction of fortification and the protection of the coast. Municipal authorities in New Orleans authorized the organization of the Native Guards in February, 1861, a military organization composed of free Negroes of the city. It has been estimated that this organization numbered more than 1,400 free Negroes.[59]

State laws authorizing the impressment or "enlistment" of free Negroes generally followed local action in this respect; local action had developed a favorable sentiment for the adoption of such a policy. Six of the Confederate states enacted legislation for this purpose between 1861 and 1865.[60] The first proposal for the impressment

[58] Charleston *Mercury,* January 3, 1861, also April 30, 1861; Memphis *Avalanche,* May 9, 1861. Cf. also Charles H. Wesley, "The Employment of Negroes as Soldiers in the Confederate Army," in *Journal of Negro History,* IV (1919), 243; Horace Greely, *The American Conflict* (Hartford, 1864), II, 522.

[59] Tuscaloosa *Independent Monitor,* May 3, 1861; New Orleans *Picayune,* November 24, 1861, also issue of February 9, 1862. Whether the enrollment of this large group of free Negroes was the result of patriotic action or official compulsion, is still a disputed question. The Governor of Louisiana in 1862 held that it was patriotism, although some members of the Native Guards reported to General Benjamin Butler, when he entered the city of New Orleans in the same year, that they "had dare not refuse service" and had hoped by serving with the state militia "to advance a little nearer equality with the whites." For these views cf. United States, *A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1900-), Ser. 1, IV, 409 (hereafter cited as *Official Records*); Benjamin Butler, *Correspondence* II, 210; Petersburg (Virginia) *Daily Express,* April 23, 1861 and April 26, 1861.

[60] Tennessee in 1861; Virginia, Georgia, South Carolina, and Mississippi in 1862; and Louisiana in 1864. It should be noted that the impressment of free Negroes ante-dated and was more easily affected than the impressment of Negro slaves. In the latter connection, both state and Confederate officials encountered hostile opposition from slaveowners, who feared slave impressments would result in property losses. Cf. Virginia, *Journal of the Senate, 1863,* Extra Sess., pp. 12-13; *Official Records,* Ser. 4, II, 296 and Ser. 4, III, 1138.

of free Negroes for military purposes appears to have been made by the Governor of Tennessee in June, 1861. He proposed the acceptance of free Negro males between the ages of fifteen and fifty into the military service of the state. In less than three months, the proposal was enacted into law by the legislature of Tennessee.[61] Authority was delegated to the governor to impress all free Negro males between the ages of fifteen and fifty, or as many as he deemed necessary. Negroes impressed received compensation at the rate of eight dollars per month, rations, and an annual clothing allowance. The enforcement of this law was left largely to the county sheriff, whose duty it was to collect and report the names, numbers, and conditions of all free Negroes subject to the provisions of the act.[62]

The legislature of Virginia met some opposition in its initial effort to provide for the impressment of free Negroes under state law. Early in February, 1862, the assembly first considered the matter; but no action was taken until near the end of the session.[63] The measure, as finally enacted, provided for the impressment of free Negro males between the ages of eighteen and fifty. They were to be compensated at the rate of fifty cents per day and allowed rations and quarters. However, Negroes impressed under this act could not be retained more than six months without their consent.[64] One year later, some factions in the legislature unsuccessfully attempted to conscript all free Negro convicts in Virginia for state service.[65] Legislation for the impressment of free Negroes was also enacted in Mississippi, South Carolina, and Georgia in 1862. In each instance, free Negroes impressed were granted compensation.[66]

Louisiana was the last southern state to impress the free Negro into the service of the state. It was not until February, 1864, that its legislature acted on the subject. The resulting law authorized the "enlistment" of free Negroes between the ages of eighteen and fifty-five. It is interesting to note that free Negroes called into the service of the state were given the same pay and were subject to the same regulations as "other persons in the same branch of the service."[67] Seven months after the enactment of this statute, all of the free Negroes subject to its provisions were called upon to enroll.[68]

---

[61] *Official Records,* Ser. 1, IV, 409.

[62] *Ibid.* It is estimated that more than a thousand free Negroes were impressed under the authority of this enactment. Greely, *op. cit.*, II, 522.

[63] Alabama authorized the "enlistment" of only the Creole population. The legislature enacted a measure for this purpose in 1862. Alabama, *Acts of the General Assembly, 1862,* p. 62.

[64] Virginia, *Acts of the General Assembly, 1862,* p. 61.

[65] *Ibid., Journal of the Senate, 1863,* Extra Sess., pp. 130, 135, 243.

[66] Mississippi, *Laws of the State, 1862-1863,* pp. 210 ff.; South Carolina, *Acts of the General Assembly, 1863,* p. 176; Georgia, *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1862,* p. 256.

Legislation enacted by southern states during the Civil War which affected the free Negro, when considered together, appears to constitute a conscious policy—a policy to control this portion of the population. The debates on the measures in the various assemblies prior to their enactment suggests a growing alarm on the part of southern legislators and their constituents that free Negroes, unless rigidly controlled by legal barriers, would endanger white supremacy and the struggle for southern independence. The legislation produced by this sentiment affected nearly every aspect of the free Negro's life—residence, mobility, and employment.

While all eleven of the Confederate states enacted statutes which directly or exclusively pertained to the free Negro, the most numerous statutes and the most repressive measures appeared in those states where free Negroes lived in the largest numbers. Georgia was particularly alert in enacting legislation of this character; moreover, the general assembly of Georgia was most responsive to protests and petitions of white citizens complaining against free Negroes. Both Virginia and South Carolina ranked high in terms of legislative enactments imposing restrictions upon the free Negro population.

It is difficult to estimate accurately the direct effects of the enactment of legislation of the character under discussion. Incomplete official records for these years add to the difficulty and make it impossible to fill in the gap. Moreover, the policy which these statutes sought to implement probably commanded little special attention from either whites or Negroes; southerners of both races had long been used to such legislation, though not on as broad a scale as was observed between 1861-1865. In some instances the letter of the law might have been harsher than its practice; but in the main, the same sentiment which produced "control legislation" tended to result in its enforcement.[69] During the period under discussion, there was a sharp decrease in the number of free Negroes in Confederate areas. Much of this decrease can be attributed to the enactments of southern legislatures which caused free Negroes either to leave the state or to be depressed into the bondsman's class through enslavement.

---

[67] Louisiana, *Acts of the Legislature, 1864,* p. 65.

[68] New Orleans *Daily True Delta,* November 1, 1864.

[69] Wiley, *op. cit.,* pp. 33, 35 ff.

BERNARD H. NELSON

Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

MISCELLANY

St. Augustine's Friend Nebridius

No critical and satisfactory treatment of Nebridius exists in modern sources, so far as the present writer can discover. The only recent treatment is the inadequate, and sometimes erroneous, article by H. W. Phillott.[1] Standard patrologists of our day like Altaner, Cayré, Tixeront, Steidle, and Bardenhewer assign no space to him. The only treatment that approximates completeness is that of Lenain de Tillemont.[2] In his usual masterly way, Tillemont has discussed the chief points of the life of Nebridius, but has done so almost entirely from the viewpoint of his relations with his far more famous friend. He gives, therefore, no unified treatment, but for the most part merely brings in Nebridius on the occasions when he has direct relations with Augustine. The absence of direct interest in Nebridius is undoubtedly the reason why Tillemont usually refrains from making conjectures on such points concerning Nebridius as the time of his birth or the religion of his family. His treatment of Nebridius at Milan is incomplete, probably for the same reason. Except in a negative way, he gives no indication of the absence of Nebridius from Milan at the important time of Augustine's conversion. He gives no systematic treatment of the letters that passed between Augustine and Nebridius, and makes no attempt to determine their number. For reasons that appear invalid to the present writer, he states that Nebridius was inclined to magic and that his baptism was later in time than that of Augustine. Hence, a brief critical discussion here of everything we can discover about Nebridius may be found helpful.

Whether or not he possessed any name other than Nebridius cannot be determined, for he is always referred to in this way only. Our ignorance here is not too surprising, for we are not completely informed on the full name of St. Augustine himself.[3] Further, very many African contemporaries seem to have possessed one name and no other.[4]

Nebridius' birthplace was most probably in the vicinity of Carthage, for here his home was located while Augustine was teaching in that city.[5] Much of his time in Africa was to be spent there, and that is how he came to meet Augustine.[6] While the time of his birth cannot be accurately determined, it seems logical to suppose that he was about the same age as Augustine, with whom he became so friendly. Since Augustine was born in 354,[7] we shall not be far wrong in placing the birth of Nebridius around 355. This fits in also with the fact that the mother of Nebridius was still alive at the time of his death.[8] If he was only in his thirties when he died, the fact that his mother was still alive would not be at all surprising. At least one other child, a brother named Victor, was born to the parents of Nebridius.[9] The parents themselves must have been fairly affluent, for Augustine speaks of Nebridius' leaving the "excellent country estate of his father" to follow his friend to Italy.[10]

---

[1] "Nebridius" in *Dictionary of Christian Biography,* IV, 9-10.

[2] In his *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire écclesiastique des six premiers siècles* (Paris, 1710), Nebridius is mentioned in several places: XIII, 108-134.

[3] Vernon J. Bourke, *Augustine's Quest of Wisdom* (Milwaukee, 1945). "The first association of Aurelius with Augustine's name is in the title of the *History,* by Paulus Orosius . . . All other uses of the name postdate Augustine's lifetime," p. 3.

[4] Cf. Joseph P. Christopher, *S. Aureli Augustini Hipponiensis Episcopi de catechizandis rudibus* (Washington, 1926), p. 123.

Since much of Nebridius' time was spent in Carthage, it is quite probable that he attended school there. Certainly, he acquired a good knowledge of grammar,[11] and Augustine assures us that he could have done rather well for himself in letters had he so desired.[12] Indeed, Augustine himself, no tiro in this field, wrote Nebridius a letter in which he asked for information on several verbal forms about which he was not certain.[13] The parents of Nebridius seem to have been pagans originally.

---

[5] Cf. Augustine, *Confessions* (hereinafter cited as *Conf.)*, edited by J. Gibb and W. Montgomery, second edition (1927), 6.10.17.: Nebridius . . . qui relicta patria vicina Carthagini . . ."

[6] *Ibid.*: "atque ipsa Carthagine, ubi frequentissimus erat . . ."

[7] O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* (München, 1924), IV, 438. Besides, Nebridius is referred to as an *adulescens* while Augustine himself was a young man at Carthage. Cf. *Conf.*, 7.6.8.

[8] Cf. Augustine, *Ep.* 10.1. Citations from the letters of Augustine to Nebridius are taken from the edition by A. Goldbacher, *S. Aureli Augustini Hipponiensis Episcopi epistulae*, Pars I (1895), 4-35, *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, XXXIV. Hereafter this work cited as *CSEL.*

[9] Augustine, *Ep.* 10.3: *quid enim cum matre agendum sit, quam certe frater Victor non deserit, tu multo melius calles quam ego.*

[10] Augustine, *Conf.*, 6.10.17: Nebridius . . . relicto paterno rure optimo . . .

[11] Cf. Augustine, *Conf.*, 8.6.13.: Nebridius autem amicitiae nostrae cesserat, ut . . . Verecundo, Mediolanensi et civi et grammatico, subdoceret, vehementer . . . flagitanti . . . adiutorium . . .

[12] *Ibid.*, non itaque Nebridium cupiditas commodorum eo traxit—maiora enim posset, si vellet, de litteris agere . . .

[13] Augustine, *Ep.* 3.5, for example, asks him to inform him on infinitive forms of three verbs. Phillott, *op. cit.*, p. 10, says that this seems to betray an ignorance on the part of the provincial professor, Augustine. May it not

We read that his whole family was converted by him to Christianity before his death.[14] Nebridius himself must have begun as a young man to consider Christianity, for Augustine assures us that he had been a Docetist before his baptism into Catholicism.[15] Augustine also writes to Nebridius about the "faith, with which you and I have been endowed" with reference to the Incarnation.[16] From Augustine likewise, we learn that Nebridius had attacked the Manichaeans even in the days while Augustine was at Carthage, by asking them the embarrassing question which they were unable to answer: what power had the powers of darkness against God?[17] Astrology as well as Manichaeism was avoided by Nebridius.[18] In fact, he tried to dissuade the youthful Augustine from its practice.[19] That their friendship continued, although Nebridius' efforts were unavailing at the time, is eloquent witness to its warmth. Tillemont thinks that he was inclined to "the magic of Plotinus and other Platonists,"[20] but I

---

be due to the greater accessibility of reference books to Nebridius than to Augustine? For when this letter was written, Augustine was in the country, while Nebridius was in the important city of Milan. And why should one provincial who had spent more than ten years in the university city of Carthage ask such a question of another who was himself a provincial? Yet, it indicates Augustine's respect for the achievements of his friend.

[14] Augustine, *Conf.*, 9.3.6.: cum tota domus eius per eum christiana facta esset . . .

[15] Augustine, *Conf.*, 9.3.6.: Nebridius . . . in illam foveam . . . inciderat, ut veritatis filii tui carnem phantasma crederet . . . Phillott, *op. cit.*, p. 9, says that Nebridius fell into this heresy while Augustine was at Cassiciacum, but *Conf.*, 6.10.17, which he wrongly cites as 6-7,10, give no such impression. They indicate, if anything, that Nebridius had given it up before Augustine went there.

[16] Augustine, *Ep.* 11.2: Accipe igitur, quid mihi videatur de susceptione hominis mystica, quam propter salutem nostram factam esse religio, qua inbuti sumus, credendum cognoscendumque commendat.

[17] Augustine, *Conf.*, 7.2.3.: sat erat ergo illud quod iam diu ab usque Carthagine a Nebridio proponi solebat et omnes, qui audiebamus, concussi sumus: quid erat tibi factura nescio qua gens tenebrarum. . . . Phillott, *op. cit.*, p. 9, says that Nebridius had once been a Manichaean but that he had abandoned this religion. His only citation is to *Conf.*, 4.3 (an incomplete reference) and to 7.2.6. In neither place does Augustine talk about Nebridius and Manichaeism.

[18] Augustine, *Conf.*, 7.6.8.: pervicaciae meae, qua obluctatus sum . . . Nebridio adulescenti mirabilis animae . . . crebro dicenti non esse illam artem futura praevidendi, coniecturas autem hominum habere saepe vim sortis . . .

[19] Cf. *Conf.*, 4.3.6.

[20] *Op. cit.*, p. 129.

find no proof for this in the source indicated by him, namely Ep. 7 of Augustine to Nebridius. Augustine merely tells Nebridius to enter into no friendship with "these infernal shades" and to break all friendship with them that has been formed.[21] In agreement with the Benedictine editors,[22] the present writer believes that Augustine is here simply warning Nebridius not to be seduced by the Manichaean theory of phantasms. Ep. 6 from Nebridius to which Ep. 7 from Augustine is a reply, as we shall see later, certainly seems to lend no support to this view of Tillemont.

But in spite of Nebridius' interest in Christianity, like Augustine himself, he put off baptism in accordance with the widespread custom of that day. He was not yet baptized in the years 384-386 while Augustine was at Milan.[23] In fact, the exact time of his baptism cannot be determined. It seems that it took place about the same time as that of Augustine, that is, 387. Both Phillott[24] and the Benedictine *Vita Sancti Augustini*[25] state that Nebridius was baptized later than Augustine, but allege no proof. Tillemont, on the basis of his belief that Nebridius was attached to magical practices even after he and Augustine had returned from Italy to Africa, believes that his baptism must have occurred some time after that of Augustine.[26] But this proof falls to the ground unless Tillemont's basis is established. To the present writer, the basis seems definitely unproved, as has already been mentioned.

So closely attached to Augustine was Nebridius that he did not hesitate to leave his comfortable estate in Africa to follow him to Italy.[27] He must have made the journey around 383 or 384, since Augustine went to

---

[21] *Loc. cit.,* 7: . . . monuerim . . . nullam cum istis infernis umbris copules amicitiam, neve illam quae copulata est, cunctere divellere. Nullo enim modo resistitur corporis sensibus, quae nobis sacratissima disciplina est, si per eos inflictis plagis vulneribusque blandimur.

[22] Migne, *P.L.,* 33, col. 74 . . . paulo supra dicitur: nihil est aliud imaginatio sensibilium rerum hoc in corpore, quam plaga inflicta per sensus. Hinc intelliges in lib. de Vera Religione, c. 34, n. 64, id quod Augustinus adversus Manichaeos dicit: Date qui resistat sensibus carnis, et plagis quibus per illos in anima vapulavit. Neque porro infernas umbras a quibus hic Nebridius revocat, intelligere alias videtur praeter phantasias seu phantasmata illa quae amplexabantur Manichaei, ex lib. 3 Confess. c. 6, et lib. c. 4.

[23] Augustine, *Conf.,* 9.3.6: nondum imbutus ullis ecclesiae tuae sacramentis, sed inquisitor ardentissimus veritatis.

[24] *Op. cit.,* p. 9.

[25] Migne, *P.L.,* 32, col. 140.

[26] *Op. cit.,* p. 133.

[27] Augustine, *Conf.,* 6.10.17.

Milan at this time.[28] He joined Augustine in Milan to continue with him in the search for truth on which both were now so passionately embarked.[29] As constrasted with Augustine's mother, St. Monica, the mother of Nebridius did not follow him from Africa to Italy.[30]

In addition to the presence of his friend Alypius, therefore, Augustine could now enjoy that of Nebridius as well, while all three lived together at Milan. Since they were all eagerly engaged in the pursuit of true wisdom,[31] they often discussed together their common concerns.[32] At the time of Augustine's famous experience in the garden of Milan, Nebridius happened to be absent.[33] Augustine himself, when writing the *Confessions* about fourteen years later,[34] had forgotten the reason for his absence.

As is well known, Augustine resigned his professorship in Milan in 386,[35] and left with Alypius, his mother, and a few other intimates for the country villa of another close friend, Verecundus, at Cassiciacum.[36] Nebridius was anxious to go along with the company, but he was prevented from doing so, for Verecundus had demanded of their common friendship that Nebridius should assist him in the teaching of grammar at Milan.[37] Yet Nebridius still preserved hopes of going to Cassiciacum as soon as his duties would permit.[38] Both Augustine and Alypius were expecting him.[39] But his hopes seem to have been completely disappointed, for the sources indicate by their silence that he was not present. He is not one of the *dialogi personae* in any of the four works composed at Cassiciacum during the fall and winter of 386-387.[40] Besides, his first letter indicated that he had read these works rather than that he had taken part in the dialogues themselves. Yet, this very fact of his separation from Augustine enables us to learn more about the person of Nebridius, for he and Augustine now began a series of mutual letters, among which are still included three from Nebridius to Augustine, and nine from Augustine to Nebridius.[41] From them we can reconstruct some part at least of the lost letters of Nebridius. Hence the very fact that saddened Augustine and Nebridius can gladden us by allowing us to peer much more closely into their inner thoughts than we should otherwise have been able to do. The letters will be briefly considered later.

---

[28] Bardenhewer, *op. cit.,* p. 440.

[29] Augustine, *Conf.,* 6.10.17: Nebridius . . . nullam ob aliam causam Mediolanium venerat, nisi ut mecum viveret in flagrantissimo studio veritatis . . .

[30] *Ibid.*: relicta domo et non secutura matre. . . .

[31] *Ibid.*: et erant ora trium te expectantium, ut dares eis escam in tempore opportuno, et in omni amaritudine, quae nostros saeculares actus de misericordia tua sequebatur, intuentibus nobis finem, cur ea pateremur, occurrebant tenebrae, et aversabamur gementes et dicebamus: "quamdie haec?" et hic crebo dicebamus. . . .

[32] Augustine, *Conf.,* 6.7.11: Congemescebamus in his qui simul amice vivebamus, et maxime cum Alypio et Nebridio ista conloquebar.

[33] Augustine, *Conf.,* 8.6.14: Quodam igitur die — non recolo causam, qua erat absens Nebridius — cum ecce ad nos domum venit ad me et Alypium Ponticianus quidam . . .

[34] Bardenhewer, *op. cit.,* p. 451.

[35] *Ibid.,* p. 440.

[36] Augustine, *Conf.,* 9.3.5., and 9.3.7. On the location of Cassiciacum, apparently Cassago, cf. F. Meda, "La Controversia sul 'Rus Cassiciacum,'" in *Miscellanea Agostiniana* II (1931), 49-59.

[37] Augustine, *Conf.,* 8.6.13: Nebridius autem amicitiae nostrae cesserat, ut omnium nostrum familiarissimo Verecundo, Mediolaniensi et civi et grammatico subdoceret, vehementer desideranti et familiaritatis iure flagitanti de numero nostro fidele adiutorium, quo indigebat nimis.

Nebridius died shortly after Augustine's conversion and baptism,[42] and Augustine expresses confidence that his friend's life had been pleasing to God.[43] Since Augustine was baptized in April, 387, Nebridius' death cannot have been much later, if at all, than 389.[44] Augustine seems to indicate clearly by his silence that Nebridius was dead before he himself became a priest in 391. Here we may recall the fact that Augustine speaks, soon after his return to Africa, of the sickness of Nebridius, which kept him from coming to Tagaste to live in Augustine's monastic community.[45]

---

[38] Augustine, *Conf.*, 9.3.6: quando sequeretur. quod de tam proximo poterat, et erat jam iamque facturus. . . .

[39] *Ibid.*: sic ergo eramus . . . Nebridium autem opperientes. . . .

[40] *Contra Academicos, De beata vita, De ordine, Soliloquia.* Cf. Bourke, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-77.

[41] In Goldbacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-35. Of these letters, 5, 6, and 8 are from Nebridius to Augustine; 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 are from Augustine to Nebridius.

[42] Augustine, *Conf.*, 9.3.6: quem non multo post conversionem nostram et regenerationem per baptisum tuum ipsum etiam fidelem catholicum castitate perfecta atque continentia tibi servientem in Africa apud suos . . . carne solvisti.

[43] *Ibid.*: et nunc ille vivit in sinu Abraham. . . . nam quis alius tali animae locus? . . . iam non ponit aurem ad os meum, sed spiritale os ad fontem tuum et bibit, quantum potest, sapientiam pro aviditate sua sine fine felix:

[44] The Benedictine editors' preface in Migne, *P.L.*, 33, col. 15-16, states that the latest are "scriptae circa initium an. 389." Goldbacher, in his index III, Vol. 58, of the *CSEL* (1923), 12, dates the letters written in Africa "ab autumno 388," without striving to date more closely. He would also assign 391 as the *terminus ad quem*. Because of Nebridius' ill condition, however, which kept him from joining Augustine at Tagaste, and because of Augustine's

Augustine's writings show plainly that Nebridius must have been a pleasant character indeed. Alypius alone is referred to with more warmth. Throughout the *Confessions,* Nebridius is referred to as *amicus dulcissimus et mitissimus,*[46] *dulcis amicus,*[47] *mirabilis animae.*[48] His bent of mind was definitely philosophical. This shines forth from the subject matter of the letters exchanged between himself and Augustine. Indeed, his whole later life at least was devoted to an untiring search for truth.[49] Witness to this is his leaving home and country to follow his friend engaged on a similar search. In his teaching at Milan, he avoided the company of those influential individuals whose company might interfere with his quietude of spirit.[50] This he wished to keep undisturbed and free for as long a time as possible, that he might follow his quest or read or listen to something concerning wisdom.[51] Yet, in his spirit of amicable kindness, he consented to the request of Verecundus, and apparently of Augustine also, to help the former with his teaching duties at Milan, even though this entailed at least a temporary separation from his close friends.[52] This shows his generosity in another way also, for he gave up chances of a better income by accepting this task.[53]

In expressing himself, Nebridius seems to have been somewhat inclined to prolixity. If ever he had been asked a question on an important subject, he insisted on answering at length.[54] If his questioner objected to this, Nebridius showed his annoyance by voice and countenance at his

---

statement, quoted in note 42, that he died shortly after Augustine's baptism, it seems quite proper to put 389 as the latest date for any of the letters.

[45] Cf. the preceding note.

[46] Augustine, *Conf.,* 8.6.13.

[47] *Ibid..* 9.3.6.

[48] *Ibid.,* 7.6.8.

[49] *Ibid.,* 9.3.6.: inquisitor ardentissimus veritatis.

[50] Augustine, *Conf.,* 8.6.13: cavens innotescere personis secundum hoc saeculum maioribus, devitans in eis omnem inquietudinem animi, quem volebat habere liberum et quam multis posset horis feriatum ad quaerendum aliquid vel legendum vel audiendum de sapientia.

[51] Cf. the preceding note.

[52] Cf. note 37.

[53] Augustine, *Conf.,* 8.6.13: non itaque Nebridium cupiditas conmodorum eo traxit — maiora enim posset, si vellet, de litteris agere. . . .

[54] Augustine, *Ep.* 98.8: recordatus sum Nebridium amicum meum, qui cum esset rerum obscurarum ad doctrinam pietatis maxime pertinentium diligentissimus et acerrimus inquisitor, valde oderat de quaestione magna responsionem brevem.

failure to realize the possibility and need of a lengthy answer![55] He also loved to receive long answers, at least from Augustine. On one occasion, he asked Augustine for a letter "longer than very long,"[56] and he was rebuked, perhaps playfully, by Augustine who excuses himself on the plea of insufficient leisure.[57]

As implied above, his attainments in grammar had evidently won the respect of Augustine, who requested information about the perfect passive participles and infinitives of several verbs.[58] Evidently he possessed a keen intellectual curiosity, as will appear from the questions asked by his various letters to Augustine. This is quite clearly one of the reasons for another trait of his character, his love of Augustine's company from which he could derive much help in the solution of the difficulties which he was constantly revolving in his mind. But we have noted that there was a very unselfish side also to his character, and this explains Augustine's high regard for him.

We have seen that Nebridius disputed with the Manichaeans and tried to remove Augustine from his interest in astrology. But we have no indication that these controversies led Nebridius to commit his arguments to writing. Likewise, we have no record that any of his grammatical lectures given in Milan were published. But, by the most conservative count possible, we can see that he wrote at least fourteen letters to Augustine. The contents of Nebridius' letters are clearly indicated, usually explicitly, by Augustine's answers.[59] We give here a brief indication, in chronological order so far as is possible, of the contents of Nebridius' letters to Augustine, along with a brief indication of Augustine's replies:

---

[55] *Ibid.:* Et quisquis hic poposcisset, aegerrime ferebat, eumque . . . vultu indignabundus et voce cohibebat, indignum deputans qui talia quaereret, cum de re tanta quam multi dici possent deberentque nesciret.

[56] Augustine, *Ep.* 14.1: Quamquam enim longiorem, quam longissima est, epistulam tibi mittendam esse praescripseris . . .

[57] *Ibid.:* non tamen tantum habemus otii, quantum existimas . . .

[58] Augustine, *Ep.* 3.5: nam ita est cupio ut fugio, ut sapio, ut iacio, ut capio; sed utrum fugiri an fugi, utrum sapiri an sapi sit modus infinitus, ignoro. possem adtendere iaci et capi, ni vererer, ne me caperet et pro ludibrio iaceret, quo vellet, quid iactum et captum aliud, aliud fugitum, cupitum, sapitum esse convinceret.

[59] Each one of Augustine's nine letters to Nebridius is a reply to at least one letter from the latter. That would show nine letters from Nebridius, of whose letters three are still extant. Letters 4, 11, 12, and 14 of Augustine contain a reply to at least two letters from Nebridius. This gives us four extra letters which, added to the above-mentioned nine, give us thirteen. Finally, letter 5 among those of Augustine is from Nebridius; Augustine's reply to it, if any existed, is lost. This makes fourteen letters at least.

1. Nebridius, delighted with Augustine's earliest philosophical works, exclaims that Augustine is already possessed of beatitude.[60] Augustine answers this in *Ep.* 3,[61] denying that he has already gained beatitude. He asks Nebridius for a long letter to explain the infinitives and perfect passive participles of *fugio, cupio,* and *sapio.* These letters must have been written at the end of 386 or the beginning of 387.[62]

2 and 3. At least two letters from Nebridius preceded *Ep.* 4 of Augustine.[63] Augustine finds that only one remains to be answered, namely that in which Nebridius asked him what progress he has made in the discernment of the sensible and the intelligible.[64] Augustine answers in *Ep.* 4 that he has made some gradual progress.[65] These letters seem to have been written just shortly after *Ep.* 3.[66]

4. Nebridius has asked frequently in conversation, and apparently by letter also,[67] about the question of a perpetual body or quasi-body of the soul. Augustine asks in *Ep.* 13[68] that the question be abandoned as of no account. These letters also seem to belong to the period when Augustine was still at Cassiciacum, hence 387.[69]

---

[60] Augustine, *Ep.* 3.1: prope persuasisti mihi non quidem beatum esse me, nam id solius sapientis praedium est, sed certe quasi beatum . . .

[61] *Ibid.:* has loquelas habui Augustinus ipse cum Augustino: Nonne verum est, quod Nebridio placet, beatos nos esse? non utique . . .

[62] Augustine shows in section one of this letter that he has now finished the *Soliloquies,* which were completed in early 387. Nebridius has not yet read them, but he has read the three books which were written at the end of 386. Cf. Bourke, *op. cit.,* pp. 73-77.

[63] Augustine, *Ep.* 4.1: cum requiro quibus epistulis tuis mihi respondendum remanserit, unam tantum inveni, quae me adhuc debitorem teneret. . . .

[64] *Ibid.:* qua petis, ut . . . indicemus tibi, quod in sensibilis atque intelligibilis naturae discernentia profecerimus.

[65] *Ibid.:* ita tamen paulatim ut per aetatem proficimus.

[66] Cf. Goldbacher, index III, *CSEL,* CVIII (1923), 12: epistula 4 post ep. 3.

[67] Augustine, *Ep.* 13.2: cur ergo, quaeso te, non nobis ad hanc quaestiunculam indicimus ferias et nos totos imprecato deo in summam serenitatem naturae summae viventis adtollimus? This implies that the question was still troubling Nebridius and that he had so informed Augustine by letter.

[68] Cf. the preceding note.

[69] The writer agrees with Goldbacher, index III, *CSEL,* CVIII (1923), 12, that this letter 13 should be put immediately after 4: epistulam 13 eodem tempore scriptam esse omnia conveniunt et res cum Nebridio tractata de natura sensibili atque intellegibili ut in ep. 3 et 4 et quod dicit Augustinus: Ex quo abii abs te *et* hiemales nimis longae noctes: Nebridium enim Mediolani reliquerat, cum ipse hiemem in rure Cassiciaco transigebat. To this we might add a comparison

5. In this letter which is still extant (*Ep.* 5 among the letters of Augustine),[70] Nebridius sympathizes with Augustine who is being distracted from his work of contemplation by reason of the interruptions occasioned by the inhabitants of Tagaste. Hence this letter dates from late 388 or early 389.[71]

6. This letter from Nebridius is still extant (*Ep.* 6 among the letters of Augustine). Nebridius states that memory in his opinion cannot exist without an image of the imagination; and that the image of the imagination is derived from itself, rather than from the senses.[72] Augustine answers this in *Ep.* 7, saying that memory can exist without images of the imagination, and that a soul which has had no sense-experience has no such images.[73] These letters, from their mention of Verecundus,[74] seem to belong to 389. Their latest possible date would be early 391.[75]

7. This is still extant as *Ep.* 8 among the letters of Augustine. Nebri-

---

of what Augustine says in section one of this letter about the "very long nights": nec a me totae dormiuntur. . . . quare age atque accipe, quod de me excudere potuit ultimum noctis, quam diu exequebatur, quo haec epistula scripta sit, with what he says in *De Ordine,* 1.3.6: Sed nocte quadam cum evigilassem de more mecumque ipse tacitus agitarem quae in mentem nescio unde veniebant — nam id mihi amore inveniendi veri iam in consuetudinem verterat, ut aut primam, si tales curae inerant, aut certe ultimam, dimidiam tamen fere noctis partem pervigil quodcumque cogitarem. . . . This text is found in *CSEL,* CXIII (1923), 124, edited by P. Knöll.

[70] Probably, but not certainly, written after Nebridius had returned to Africa.

[71] Augustine returned to Africa in the autumn of 388, and at once began to lead the monastic life at Tagaste. Cf. Possidius, *Vita Sancti Augustini,* edited by H. Weiskotten (1919), p. 49.

[72] This letter is interesting also as showing Nebridius' conviction of the worth of Christ's teaching. He says in section one with regard to Augustine's letters: illae mihi Christum, illae Platonem, illae Plotinum sonabunt.

[73] Augustine, *Ep.* 7.1: memoria tibi videtur nulla esse posse sine imaginibus vel imaginariis visis. quae phantasiarum nomine appellare voluisti; ego aliud existimo. And in section 3: nihil est aliud illa imaginatio, mi Nebridi, quam plaga inflicta per sensus, quibus non, ut tu scribis, commemoratio quaedam fit, ut talia formentur in anima, sed ipsa huius falsitatis inlatio sive, ut expressius dicatur, inpressio.

[74] Augustine refers in section four to "quondam nostrum familiarem Verecundum." Since Verecundus died while Augustine was in Rome after having left Cassiciacum, therefore 387 or 388 (*Conf.,* 9.3.5), the earliest possible date seems 388, since Verecundus is apparently dead for some time. The "quondam" makes 389 likely.

[75] But this is merely possible, not probable. The editors keep it among the later letters.

dius asks by what action of heavenly powers on the soul it is brought about that images and dreams come to us as we sleep.[76] He notes several striking experiences of dreamers. Augustine's answer, *Ep.* 9, refers to Nebridius' talent, and suggests that he work out the question for himself, since a brief letter could not do justice to such a question.[77] The year 389 is a probable date.[78]

8. In this, Nebridius had blamed Augustine for neglecting means by which the two might be enabled to live together. Augustine answers this in *Ep.* 10.[79] In the first section, he seems to indicate very clearly that Nebridius is back in the neighborhood of Carthage with his mother. Possibly Nebridius could be brought in a *basterna.*[80] The thought of Nebridius' mother and her reluctance to part with her son who is now very ill keeps Augustine from suggesting that Nebridius come to Tagaste. Since Augustine himself cannot leave his monastic community to go to Nebridius, he exhorts him to think carefully of death. This is possibly a reminder from Augustine that his dear friend had better prepare himself for the rapidly approaching end of his life. A probable date of these letters is 389.[81]

9 and 10. Nebridius had written in his latest letter his decision to come

---

[76] Section 1: qui fit, mi Augustine, vel qui modus est ille, quo utuntur superiores potestates, quas caelestes intellegi volo, cum eis placet nobis dormientibus aliqua somnia demonstrare?

[77] Section 2: magna enim res est, cui tu quoque pro tua prudentia perspicis non epistula, sed aut praesenti conlocutione aut aliquo libello respondendum esse. temptabo tamen callens ingenium tuum quaedam quaestionis huius limina praeseminare, ut aut cetera tecum ipse contexas aut posse ad rei tantae probabilem investigationem perviniri minime desperes.

[78] But insufficient evidence is at hand to show where Nebridius was when it was written. The neighborhood of Carthage may well be kept in the lack of proof for a different location.

[79] Section 1: illud, quod recentissimis tuis litteris legi, ubi nos arguis, quod consulere neglegamus ut una nobis vivere liceat.

[80] *Ibid.*: sed cum perprobabilis ratio demonstrare videatur hic nos potius quam Carthagini vel etiam in rure ex sententia posse degere, quid tecum agam, mi Nebridi, prorsus incertus sum. mittaturne ad te accommodissium tibi vehiculum? nam basterna innoxie te vehi posse noster Lucinianus auctor est. The word *basterna* occurs in late Latin only; cf. the *TLL,* 2.1782.63-1783.9. Quotations from several authors, especially Isidore of Seville, indicate that it was a vehicle for traveling, equipped with comfortable furnishings. J. H. Baxter, *St. Augustine: Select Letters* (Loeb Classical Library, 1930), p. 9, translates it by "sedan chair."

[81] It is in conjunction with this that the present writer has assigned 389 as the year of Nebridius' death.

to Augustine at Tagaste at whatever time he could, and he had asked Augustine to come to him if he should find that possible. *Ep.* 11 of Augustine mentions this, and shows also that Nebridius had asked several other difficult questions, one of which is answered in *Ep.* 11.[82] This letter shows why human nature was assumed by the Second Person only of the Blessed Trinity. A probable date is 389.

11 and 12. Nebridius had said in a letter, now lost, that he had written more letters than Augustine had received.[83] Augustine says in *Ep.* 12, which is incomplete, that Nebridius' questions are very many in number.[84] He starts another treatment of the subject discussed in his *Ep.* 11. A probable date is 389.

13 and 14. Nebridius has asked several questions in at least one earlier letter which Augustine was unable to answer. Augustine answers only the most recent of all in his *Ep.* 14.[85] Nebridius had asked for a very long letter in reply, but Augustine had not the necessary leisure. He, therefore, answers only two questions: why the sun does not do the same as other heavenly bodies, and whether Supreme Truth contains the plan of each individual man.[86] A probable date is 389. What has been stated above for the sixth letter of Nebridius, however, must be stated of all later letters from him: it is barely possible that some are as late as early 391.

John J. Gavigan

Villanova College

---

[82] Section 1: me securum fecit recentis epistulae brevissima et verissima ratio, propterea scilicet hinc non esse cogitandum, quia vel nos, cum potuerimus, ad te, vel tu, cum potueris, ad nos necessario venturus sis. hinc ergo, ut dixi, securus effectus consideravi omnes epistulas tuas, ut viderem, quarum responsionum debitor sim. in quibus tam multas quaestiones repperi, ut, etiam si facile dissolvi possent, ipso acervo cuisvis igenium otiumque superarent.

[83] Augustine, *Ep.* 12.1: Plures epistulas te scribis misisse, quam accepimus.

[84] *Ibid.*: sane recognitis exemplaribus animadverti quinque fere tuis rogationibus esse responsum, nisi quod una ibi quaestio quasi transeunter perstricta, quamquam non temere ingenio tuo commissa sit, non tamen fortasse satisfecit avaritiae tuae. quam refrenes aliquantum opus est et nonulla compendia libenter feras. . . .

[85] Section one: Recentissimis litteris tuis respondere malui, non quod contempserim praecedentia quaesita tua minusve me delectaverint, sed quod in respondendo maiora, quam opinaris, molior.

[86] Section two: Scribis, cur ego et tu, cum simus singuli, eadem multa faciamus, sol autem non idem faciat quod cetera sidera cuius rei causam conarer. Section four: Item quaeris, utrum summa illa veritas et summa sapientia, forma rerum, per quam facta sunt omnia, quem filium dei unicum sacra nostra profitentur, generaliter hominis, an etiam uniuscuiusque nostrum rationem contineat.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 15, 1945

The Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Association was held at the Hotel Statler in Washington on Saturday, December 15, 1945. Due to the continuing heavy traffic of both military and civilian personnel on the railroads the meeting was confined to a luncheon conference and business session. There were thirty-four in attendance at the luncheon where the presidential address of John J. Meng, which appeared in our January issue, was read. Dr. Meng's was the only formal paper presented, the rest of the program being devoted to the reports of the chairmen of the standing committees and the officers. These reports are printed in the present issue of the REVIEW.

A meeting of the Executive Council of the Association was held before the luncheon with President Meng in the chair. The Secretary proposed to the Council that the method of electing the annual officers and committee personnel be put on a more democratic basis by asking the Committee on Nominations to select several names in each case from which the membership would be given an opportunity to choose one and return the ballot to the executive office several weeks in advance of the annual meeting. This proposal was adopted by the Council. The Secretary was likewise instructed by the Council to continue to ask members of the Association for the names of prospective new members so that the total membership might be increased. From the efforts made within recent months by the office of the Association, it is pleasant to record, this device has had gratifying results and a considerable number of members have been good enough to furnish the office with the names and addresses of persons of their acquaintance who have been interested in becoming members of the Association.

The Secretary placed before the Council a project for the beginning of a new series of publications by the Association. To date there have been published three volumes of *Papers* and two volumes of *Documents*. It was stated that the new series might be called Miscellaneous with the idea that it would include monographs, special studies, and perhaps an occasional translation of a significant work. The Secretary informed the Council that he would like to submit a manuscript which he had prepared on "The Formative Years of the Catholic University of America," as the first publication in the new series. He made it clear that the volume would be subsidized from outside sources and that the Association's publication fund need not be touched for the costs of publication of his manuscript. The Executive Council voted to accept the manuscript of Father Ellis and have it appear as the first publication in the new series of the Association with the understanding that the costs of the volume be met independently of the Association's funds. The manuscript in question went to press on January 7 and is promised for early May.

The Association will hold a full time annual meeting in New York at the Hotel Pennsylvania on December 27, 28, and 30, 1946. The reports of the officers and committee chairmen for the year 1945 follow.

Report of the Treasurer:—

Account I — General Fund

Investments ... December 15, 1944			$5,500.00
Cash on hand ... December 15, 1944		$2,496.44	
Receipts:			
Annual Dues		3,188.00	
Interest from Investments		165.00 82.50	
		$5,931.94	$5,500.00
Disbursements:			
Office Expenses:			
Rent of office and telephone service	$ 75.00		
Supplies and service	105.82		
Secretary — Salary	835.72		
Bookkeeper — Salary	120.00		
	$1,136.54		
Expenses of Chicago Meeting, 1944	77.35		
Catholic Historical Review	2,566.80*		
Rent of safety deposit box	6.00		
Exchange on Canadian checks	2.12	3,788.81	
Cash on hand December 15, 1945		$2,143.13	
Investments December 15, 1945			$5,500.00

* $435.60 from 1944.

Share of annual dues of members to the REVIEW advanced July 1, 1945, from 60 cents to 80 cents per issue.

Account II — Revolving Fund

Cash on hand, December 15, 1944		$ 145.51
Receipts:		
United States Ministers to the Papal States	$ 9.00	
Refund from Bishops' Committee on the Pope's Peace Points for money advanced for research work on *Consular Relations between the United States and the Papal States*	298.00	
Total receipts		307.00
Cash on hand, December 15, 1945		$ 452.51

Summary

Cash on hand	Account I	$2,143.13
	Account II	452.51
	Total cash	$2,595.64

Respectfully submitted,

John K. Cartwright, *Treasurer*

Report of Committee on Publications:—

This report formally puts on record what is already known to the members of the Association, viz., the publication during the year of the second volume of our series of *Documents: Consular Relations between the United States and the Papal States.*

As revealed last year, the publication of this volume was made possible through the generous subvention of the Bishops' Committee on the Pope's Peace Points. It is gratifying to your committee to have received from Archbishop Stritch, Archbishop Ryan, and Bishop Muench, members of this committee, their satisfaction with the volume they sponsored and their appreciation of its worth. The Association will, I am sure, show its reciprocal appreciation of this gift by supporting the work of the committee through individual subscriptions to the volume.

This will be the final report of the Committee on Publications under the present chairman. He has brought to completion the project he began, and through his editorship and the willing co-operation of his several associates, the Association has now given to students and scholars the interesting and important record of the diplomatic relations between the United States and the Papal States.

A new chairman will have other interests and other suggestions to make. It is not likely that immediate beginnings can be made on the third volume of the series. But your retiring chairman hopes that the collecting, editing, and publishing of pertinent documentary materials will continue to be a permanent object of the Association's activities.

Respectfully submitted,

Leo F. Stock, *Chairman*

Report of the Committee on Nominations:—

President — Thomas F. O'Connor, St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers.

First Vice-President — Friedrich Engel-Janosi, Catholic University of America.

Second Vice-President — Peter M. Dunne, S.J., University of San Francisco.

Secretary — John Tracy Ellis, Catholic University of America.

Treasurer — John K. Cartwright, St. Matthew's Cathedral, Washington.

Executive Council (Two to be elected for a three-year term) — Oscar Halecki, Fordham University; Sister M. Gilbert Kelly, O.P., Rosary College.

Committee on Program — Francis J. Tschan, Pennsylvania State College, *Chairman;* Henry G. J. Beck, Immaculate Conception Seminary, Darlington; Arthur J. Riley, St. John's Seminary, Brighton.

Committee on Publications — Paul J. Knapke, C.PP.S., St. Charles College, Carthagena, Ohio, *Chairman;* Sister M. Angela Fitzmorris, C.D.P., Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio; August Raymond Ogden, F.S.C., Sacred Heart Training College, Las Vegas, New Mexico.

Committee on Nominations — Sylvester D. Luby, Loras College, *Chairman;* A. Paul Levack, Fordham University; Sister M. Evangeline Thomas, Marymount College, Salina, Kansas.

Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize — J. Manuel Espinosa, Division of Cultural Relations, Department of State.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANCIS A. ARLINGHAUS, *Chairman*
J. ROBERT LANE, F.S.C.,
HUGH J. NOLAN

Report of the Secretary:—

Our modest gathering of today is in rather strong contrast to the two-day meeting held in Chicago a year ago when we celebrated our silver jubilee with over-flow crowds at all the sessions. However, it seems to be the consensus of opinion that the transportation problem is at the present time if anything, worse than in December, 1944. Therefore, it is perhaps wise that the Executive Council decided to postpone another full-scale meeting until Christmas week of 1946 when, we hope, we may be able to assemble under more normal conditions. Professor Francis J. Tschan and Father Henry G. J. Beck have worked diligently through the past twelve months on a program, and it seemed only fair, therefore, to the Committee on Nominations that these men should be held over as a committee to see their program through to execution at our 1946 gathering. They have a good part of the program already completed so that, given the extra time of the authors for preparation, it should insure us a series of papers and discussions of really superior quality.

Each year the secretary attempts in his annual report to summarize for you the salient features of the year's developments in the enterprise of our common interest. First, as to membership in the Association, I am glad to say that we have more than held our own. The figures are as follows:

Membership, December 15, 1944	730
Resignations	8
Deaths	12
Delinquents	35
	675
Renewals	5
New members	71
Membership, December 15, 1945	751

We have, therefore, overcome the losses inevitably suffered from resignations, deaths, and delinquencies in dues, and we are ready to begin the new year with a total of twenty-one more members than at this time last year. While it is gratifying, of course, to record this gain, I might repeat what I said last year, namely, that a national society such as ours with a Catholic population of over twenty-five millions to draw on cannot exactly pride itself on a membership of 750. After nearly five years of experience in this office, I am convinced that this relatively small membership is due, in the main, to a general lack of interest among our own people in the history of the Church. It is not a very flattering thing to say of ourselves and yet, in this age of realism, we can employ a bit of stout thinking to our profit. Any effort we can make individually, therefore, to awaken and stimulate interest in the history of the world-wide Church will, I feel sure, reflect itself in the life of such societies as our own. One definite source of such interest and stimulation is, to be sure, the further professional training in history of more and more of our own people. In the executive office we have reason to see this interest in the Association manifested by graduate students of history in various universities throughout the country, particularly as they near the end of their professional training. A further effective device for increasing our membership is for indivdual members to take upon themselves the responsibility of furnishing the executive office with names and addresses of prospective members. A number of members have done this during recent years and it has brought definite results, and among these I may be pardoned for mentioning the name of our First Vice-President, Mr. O'Connor, through whose efforts we have secured at least ten new members during the past year.

Our annual summary of the membership always brings to mind those who have been taken by death during the year. We have to record this year the death of the following members:

Right Reverend Robert J. Achstetter
Right Reverend William E. Cashin
Most Reverend Joseph R. Crimont, S.J.
Most Reverend Daniel F. Desmond
Reverend Raymond J. Gray, S.J.
Reverend Martin I. J. Griffin
Reverend James A. Hogan
Mr. Thomas B. Lawler
Miss Anna M. Mullarkey
Mr. Patrick O'Donnell
Right Reverend John A. Ryan
Most Reverend Joseph Schrembs

May their souls rest in peace!

The new members and their addresses are as follows:

Reverend Professor Raymond W. Albright, 1524 Palm Street, Reading, Pennsylvania
Sister Aloyse, S.P., Marywood School, 2128 Ridge Avenue, Evanston, Illinois
Miss Elizabeth J. Barham, 6117 North 22nd Street, Arlington, Virginia
Reverend Owen J. Blum, O.F.M., Quincy College, Quincy, Illinois
Most Reverend Stanislaus V. Bona, Box 65, Green Bay, Wisconsin
Most Reverend Matthew F. Brady, 151 Walnut Street, Manchester, New Hampshire
Reverend Henry J. Browne, Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D. C.
Mr. John Brunini, First National Bank Building, Vicksburg, Mississippi
Sister M. Carina, St. Clara Convent, Breda, Iowa
Reverend Fentan L. Crowley, O.F.M., Siena College, Loudonville, New York
Dr. James S. Donnelly, 225 Broadway, New York City 7
Dr. John J. Donovan, 611 South Sixth Street, Springfield, Illinois
Judge Arthur L. Eno, 219 Hildreth Building, Lowell, Massachusetts
Sister M. Eucharista, College of St. Catherine, St. Paul, Minnesota
Professor H. O. Evennett, Trinity College, Cambridge, England
Brother Finbarr, O.S.F., St. Francis College, Brooklyn, New York
Reverend Stephen J. Fitzgerald, 650 Grand Concourse, New York City 51
Most Reverend Laurence J. FitzSimon, Box 2009, Amarillo, Texas

Reverend Bernard J. Fleming, 650 Grand Concourse, New York City 51
Reverend Leo A. Foley, S.M., Marist College, Washington 17, D. C.
Reverend Emmet Gafney, C.M., Kenrick Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri
Lt. Comdr. Edward E. Gallahue, 3209 Walbridge Place, N.W., Washington 10, D. C.
Reverend Lamar J. Genovar, 1800 12th Street, North, St. Petersburg, Florida
Reverend John J. Gordon, 650 Grand Concourse, New York City 51
Very Reverend Thomas Grassmann, O.F.M., Tekawitha Friary, Fonda, New York
Most Reverend Henry J. Grimmelsman, 224 S. E. First Street, Evansville 8, Indiana
Mr. James L. Harkins, 720 Fifth Avenue, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania
Miss Katherine D. Harrold, 8421 Piney Branch Court, Silver Spring, Maryland
Miss Stephanie O. Husek, Marygrove College, Detroit 21, Michigan
Reverend A. J. Kelly, St. Joseph's Rectory, Richfield Springs, New York
Reverend George A. Kelly, 413 East 79th Street, New York City 21
Sister M. Gilbert Kelly, O.P., Rosary College, River Forest, Illinois
Reverend John M. Kelly, 2153 S. Millard Avenue, Chicago, Illinois
Reverend Edward F. Kenrick, 650 Grand Concourse, New York City 51
Sister Marie Carolyn Klinkhamer, 901 Upshur Street, N.E., Washington 17, D. C.
Michael J. Kubisiak, Y 3/c, Staff, Commander North Pacific Force, c/o Fleet Postoffice, San Francisco, California
Professor J. F. Leddy, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
Professor James V. Lennon, 54th Street and City Line, Philadelphia 31, Pennsylvania
Sister Mary Lioba, S.S.N.D., Mount Mary College, Milwaukee 13, Wisconsin
Mr. Ralph J. Mailliard, 1016 South Monitor Avenue, Chicago, Illinois
Professor Howard R. Marraro, Columbia University, New York City 27
Reverend Charles N. R. McCoy, St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri
Reverend John B. McGloin, S.J., St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri
Reverend Richard S. McMonigal, M.M., Box 234, Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D. C.
Very Reverend Edward Roberts Moore, 31 Barclay Street, New York City
Most Reverend William T. Mulloy, 1140 Madison Avenue, Covington, Kentucky
Reverend Arthur F. Nugent, 650 Grand Concourse, New York City 51
Reverend John J. Nugent, 5628 Chester Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Very Reverend William H. Oberste, Box 494, Refugio, Texas
Mr. Bernard J. O'Connell, 500 Mitten Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Right Reverend Geoffrey O'Connell, 612 West Howard Avenue, Biloxi, Mississippi

Most Reverend John F. O'Hara, C.S.C., 1035 Delaware Avenue, Buffalo, New York

Mrs. Robert M. Patterson, 1745 East 71st Place, Chicago 49, Illinois

Brother Michael Phillips, F.S.C., St. John's College, 1225 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington 5, D. C.

Sister M. Polycarp, Incarnate Word College, San Antonio, Texas

Raymond W. M. Porter, 6200 Kenwood Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois

Reverend Joseph L. Powers, C.S.C., University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana

Reverend Honorius Provost, Assistant Archivist, Laval University, Quebec, Canada

Dr. W. Stanford Reid, McGill University, Montreal, Canada

Mr. Leslie J. Roch, 1121 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington 7, D. C.

Miss Virginia Rohr, 751 Chicago Boulevard, Detroit 2, Michigan

Most Reverend Edward F. Ryan, 52 William Street, Burlington, Vermont

Reverend Charles W. Spellman, Cathedral of St. Augustine, St. Augustine, Florida

Reverend Joseph Stang, St. Ignatius Hospital, Colfax, Washington

Reverend Harold L. Stansell, S.J., 221 N. Grand Boulevard, St. Louis 3, Missouri

Reverend Dunstan Stout, C.P., St. Gabriel's Monastery, Brighton, Massachusetts

Reverend J. B. Tennelly, S.S., 2021 H Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Sister Viola, S.C., Catholic Teachers College, Albuquerque, New Mexico

Sister Virginia, Marywood School, 2128 Ridge Avenue, Evanston, Illinois

Most Reverend Vincent S. Waters, 15 North McDowell Street, Raleigh, North Carolina

Reverend Stanislaus J. Wysoczynski, 522 S. Park Avenue, Buffalo, New York

The second major item in our report concerns the *Catholic Historical Review,* the official organ of the Association. The total number of subscriptions at the present time, exclusive of members of the Association, is 330 or a gain of four over the figure reported in December, 1944. The number of exchanges has increased by one to a total of 128. The sum of all these figures gives a total of 1208 to whom our journal goes out each quarter. But although we are able to show a gain of about twenty-five in the total number receiving the REVIEW, that gain has not been sufficient to meet the rising costs of printing the journal. In my letter of December 1, which gave notice of this meeting today, I spoke of a deficit in the operating expenses of the REVIEW which has been met by the Catholic University of America. I should now like to make that remark specific. The deficit for the fiscal year ending July 1, 1944, amounted to $628.82; the deficit for the year ending July 1, 1945, was $519.54. The two principal items which have caused this annual deficit during the past two years have been rising costs of printing and the necessity of a higher salary for the office secretary. By cutting the number of pages to a limit of 128 per issue and by having the Association increase from 60¢ to 80¢ per quarter the amount paid to the REVIEW from the annual dues of the members, we have been able to reduce the deficit considerably and we hope that we may soon arrive at a point where the REVIEW may be able to put itself on a self-sustaining basis. I wished to describe this situation in some detail so that you will know the reason why the REVIEW has been reduced in size during the last year and also why a larger share of your annual dues has been taken by the REVIEW. Fortunately, the Association's finances, as reported to you by Monsignor Cartwright, are in a sound condition, but we will have to be vigilant if we are to keep our current cash balance at a comfortable figure. Here, of course, is where an enlarged membership would assist the Association in being of greater service to the cause of Catholic historical scholarship.

During the past year the editors of the REVIEW received for publication twenty-nine manuscripts. Of these twelve have been published in our issues from January to October, 1945, inclusive, twelve have been rejected, and five await the final decision of the editors. Almost fifty percent of the manuscripts sent in, therefore, have been rejected as not meeting the standards of scholarship which the editors feel should be maintained in the pages of the REVIEW. This is a high percentage, but in so far as we have been able to learn, our readers in general approve the standards in force and wish to have them continued. However, it should be mentioned that we have received a number of excellent manuscripts which we rejected, not because of lack of merit, but because they treated of subjects remote from the history of the Church. There are still pitifully few scholars writing original productions on phases of history touching the Church and we can only hope that with the return to the historical profession of many first-class men from the armed services there will be an increase of good writing and sound scholarship among our Catholic historians.

Recently one of our members made an excellent suggestion to us for an additional service which the REVIEW might render to all interested students in the history of the Catholic Church of the United States. The substance of this suggestion will be carried as the leading item in our Notes and Comments section in the January, 1946, issue. It is that from time to time we would run a list of holdings in personal and institutional libraries of rare printed books, pastoral letters of the bishops, legislation of diocesan synods and provincial councils, old issues of the various Catholic almanacs, and of the *Catholic Directory* with the idea of affording research workers in American Catholic history a clue to the whereabouts of these items. Ultimately through a series of such lists there might well be assembled a somewhat complete union list on many reference works and printed sources of which students at the present time have no record whatever. An attempt of this kind was made many years ago by Monsignor Guilday and he tells me that it did not meet with much of a response. While the editors of the REVIEW welcome the suggestion and are ready to do their part in making such lists available as space in the journal permits, the first responsibility, of course, must rest on those persons or institutions in possession of a considerable body of rare *Americana Catholica* to furnish the REVIEW with the necessary information.

At our silver jubilee meeting in Chicago there was launched the project of giving an annual prize of $200 for the best book or manuscript on a subject related to the history of the Church or a distinguished work in any phase of history written by a Catholic. To judge the works submitted, a committee was appointed and its members have served faithfully and conscientiously during the past year. Five entries were received, two books and three manuscripts, but since the John Gilmary Shea Prize Committee did not publish its regulations until April, and the closing date of the contest was July 1, it is not surprising that there were so few entries. Among the rules laid down in the April issue of the REVIEW to govern this award was one to the effect that if the entries in any given year were not such as to warrant, in the opinion of the committee, the giving of the prize, it would reserve to itself the right of passing over the award in that particular year. Such is the opinion of the committee for the year 1945. It was felt the contents of the entries were not of a sufficiently broad and significant character to prompt the Association to make the award this year, although the committee would wish it to be understood that several of the entries were, indeed, not without merit. We hope that with a fresh start the new year will bring to the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize a larger selection of entries from which the prize may be offered to a winner at our luncheon conference in Christmas week of 1946.

Respectfully submitted,
JOHN TRACY ELLIS, *Secretary*

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

The Saints That Moved the World. By RENÉ FÜLÖP-MILLER. Translated by Alexander Gode and Erika Fülöp-Miller. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1945. Pp. 446. $3.50.)

A renewed interest in the role of the saints in our past, one of the hopeful signs of the times, together with the established reputation of the author in this country, will assure a wide circle of readers for this study of five great saints, who have never lost their fascination in the ages since they lived.

In the opening chapter the author reveals the purpose of the work, after a strong condemnation of modern rationalism and a brief review of the growing evidence for a new orientation of thought in scientific circles, to which he himself offers the present contribution. This purpose is the reaffirmation of supernatural reality, through the medium of a new appraisal of the lives of the saints and of the enduring cultural impact and social value of their "imitation of Christ," which the author makes the essential note of their saintly accomplishments.

To bring this message to the modern reader, these spiritual giants are presented as authentic witnesses, whose diversity of social origins, native genius, natural temperament, and historical circumstance only serve to stress the force and remarkable catholicity of their common testimony. From the ancient Greco-Roman world, St. Anthony, as the saint of renunciation, and St. Augustine, as the saint of the intellect; from the western world of the high Middle Ages, St. Francis, as the saint of love; from the Renaissance period, St. Ignatius, as the saint of will power, and St. Teresa, as the saint of ecstasy, are selected to convey the timeless message of the heroic imitators of Christ. The life of the saint, the central theme of each study, is developed with special emphasis on a distinctive feature of their achievement, and in the full historical setting of their own age and of their influence on later ages. Thus the reader is given not only individual biographical studies, but an extensive survey of deeply important aspects of our religious and cultural past.

The method followed is in keeping with the declared purpose of reaching the general reader, not the specialist, and a large place is given to a consideration of relevant aspects of modern experimental psychology. The text is presented without reference notes to sources or secondary materials, but it is based on a wide acquaintance with both and has frequent quotations from them. To the same end, a certain limited liberty is taken in handling these materials, after the accepted manner of *la vie romancée.*

To undertake a work of this scope and character makes great demands on an author, and to have executed the present volume with such a large measure of success, is confirmation of the recognized talents of its creator. It is because the reviewer is in enthusiastic sympathy with the purpose of this book, and not for any want of it, that he offers the following observations, conscious of his own incompetence to criticize, either many of the high matters here treated, or the work of those who undertake to treat them.

The familiar and moving narration, covering such a variety of stirring events and movements in religious history, is more noteworthy than certain deficiencies in historical acumen, in a work which is intended primarily to give the reader the answer to the one timeless and imperative question, and which uses history as one of many means to achieve its lofty, didactic aim. But what is keenly felt is the lack of that sure touch and delicate discernment, which are the rewards of long and deep acquaintance with the two traditional handmaids of the science of the saints, *theologia dogmatica* and *theologia mystica,* whose help is ready, and necessary, for their younger sister, *psychologia.* This, perhaps, explains the presence of some obscure and ambiguous expressions, and not a few inaccuracies.

The avoidance of "narrow dogmatism and cheap debunking," which the publisher's jacket points to, quite justly, as one of the book's many merits,—and both of which the reviewer holds to be equally abhorrent—surely leaves its due place to sound theological erudition, in a work so largely concerned with matters theological, which even an abundance of good will cannot supply. The *via mystica,* especially, like arduous mountaineering, needs not only apologists but seasoned guides, and both are completely at home only in the Catholic tradition, if the way is to lead safely *ad montem qui Christus est.* To this these saints, all mystics, also bear living witness.

It is unfortunate that typographical errors are numerous enough to mar the book. Proper names are very loosely handled. The following *errata* may be of service to the reader. The first appearance is cited.

For *St.* Antonii, read S. (p. 19) ; for *incarnatur* read incarnatus (p. 63) ; for *Caesaria,* read Caesarea (p. 71) ; for *Anthonins,* read Antonines (p. 89) ; for *Victorianus,* read Victorinus (p. 119) ; for *Macellinus,* read Marcellinus (p. 147) ; for *Symachus* read Symmachus (p. 112) ; for *Borgio* San Sepolcro, read Borgo (p. 246) ; for *Alverno,* read Alverna (p. 224) ; for Lake *Trasimeno,* read Trasimene (p. 223) ; for *San* Angelo, read Sant' (p. 220) ; for *San Bastian,* read Bastia (convent of San Paolo) (p. 220) ; for *Sciffi,* read Scifi (p. 217) ; for *Ruffino,* read Rufino (as given on p. 260, ff.) (p. 217); for San *Damian,* read Damiano (p. 173); *liber confirmatium* is undoubtedly Liber de Conformitate (Vitae b. P. Francisci ad Vitam D.N.J.C.) (p. 157); for *Matthews,* read Matthew (p. 246); for *Salmevon,* read Salmeron (p. 304); *Francis de Borgia* (p. 369) and *St. Francisco de Borgia* (p. 382), are neither English nor Spanish forms; San Tomas, San Tomás, and St. Thomas, are used for the same convent (p. 374 ff.); for *Banes,* read Banez (p. 377); Pope *Eusebius* undoubtedly means Eugenius IV (p. 380).

J. Joseph Ryan

St. John's Seminary
Brighton

Monsieur Emery. L'Église d'Ancien Régime et la Révolution. Par Chanoine J. Leflon, Professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. (Paris: Bonne Presse. 1944. Pp. xiv, 443.)

The author of this life of Father Emery is by no means the first to attempt a pen-picture of one of the most fascinating figures of the Church of France, particularly during the period which led up to and through the social upheaval of the French Revolution. He himself makes it perfectly clear that he is not a pioneer. He pays tribute to Father Faillon, one of the superiors of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, whose insight into the greatness of Emery and whose far-sightedness led him to gather together and to file with great care everything he found that might some day be of value to historians of those fateful days. This is the gold-mine on which he, like every other biographer of Emery, had to draw. The author is, of course, acquainted with the lives of Emery written by Father Gosselin and Monsignor Méric. But he felt that Gosselin's book, while thoroughly reliable, lacked perspective, that it was, as another critic put it, "history as seen through a seminary window." And while he was satisfied that Méric's work is more detailed, more literary, and better documented than Gosselin's, he was convinced that its wide sweeps of history had a tendency to obscure the principal figure, Emery himself, that mental giant who, because of his small stature and also because of a profound admiration, Napoleon Bonaparte liked to call "that little priest."

Besides these reasons for attempting a new portrait of Emery, which are in the last analysis subjective, there is the objective fact that Canon Leflon had access to archival materials which until more or less recent times, were sealed behind locked doors. This includes such important collections as those of the Archives des Cultes, the Caprara legation, the Department of Ain, and particularly the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

It is well to know that Canon Leflon produced the work under review as the first of two volumes. In this one he restricts himself to Father Emery in the days leading up to the Revolution and to the Church of

France in the moments of her great crisis. The second volume, now in the process of preparation, will deal with Emery's relations with the Emperor Napoleon I.

Canon Leflon gives us history written in the modern manner, and this is high praise. The exquisite picture he finally draws of Emery, set in the background of his stirring times, is not the product of his subjective feelings of admiration for his hero, but the necessary result of documentary evidence. There is hardly a page without numerous references to justify the statements he makes about people and events. The story of Emery's life and activities is told with great clarity of vision and fineness of expression. To see Emery in this book is to see the Church of France of his day, for both were intertwined and were but two aspects of the same picture.

Father Emery stands out as the undisputed and unchallenged leader of the French Church of his times. History has few such instances to offer in which a simple priest, for the most part secluded behind the austere walls of a seminary, was asked to shoulder almost alone the responsibility of the church of an entire country, and who met the challenge so squarely. Here was a man who had an ensemble of qualities so completely unified and brought to such a perfect state of balance, that it is difficult to say which of them contributed most to make him the great little man that he was.

This charming portrait of Father Emery is undoubtedly the contribution which the author sought to make. In this he has succeeded admirably. It is not so certain, however, that he has always managed to keep his story in focus. The book gets off to a slow start, and were it not for a few interesting details of secondary import, one might be tempted to put it aside. This, of course, would be a mistake. Later on, too, he seems to lose for a time his sense of proportion when dealing with the famous oath of liberty. For these reasons the volume may not arouse the interest of the average reader. But those who want to know more about church history in general and about the French Revolution in particular will not find it difficult to be grateful to Canon Leflon for this volume on Emery and the Church, and they will look forward with some eagerness to the sequel, Emery and Napoleon.

LOUIS A. ARAND

The Catholic University of America

The Great Friend: Frederick Ozanam. By ALBERT PAUL SCHIMBERG. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1946. Pp. vii, 344. $2.50.)

This biography is a contribution to the centenary celebration (1945) of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in the United States. The author, who previously wrote *The Larks of Umbria,* a popular life of St. Francis of Assisi, is a devoted Vincentian of long standing, and he shows in this work how thoroughly he himself is imbued with the principles of this charitable institution. He carefully depicts Frederick Ozanam as an example for every true Vincentian, for from him as from the founder flowed the inspiration of the society.

Throughout the book references are made concerning this Vincentian spirit, which bound together Ozanam's other activities as with a golden thread. Yet we find him an interested and valuable contributor to Catholic thought, particularly during the uneasy days of Louis Philippe. Although handicapped by physical infirmities, burdened with a professorship at the Sorbonne, and practically interested in all Vincentian matters, he found time for a positive interest in the Catholic periodicals of the time. He published the following thorough studies: *Two English Chancellors, Civilization of the Fifth Century, Dante and Catholic Philosophy in the XIII Century, The Franciscan Poets in Italy in the Thirteenth Century,* and *German Studies.* He was at one time or another closely associated with Lacordaire, Montalembert, La Mennais, Lamartine, Veuillot, Gerbet, Migne, Lallier, both Ampères, and with other prominent men of the time who worked successfully, or otherwise, for the Catholic regeneration in France. Yet he always managed to veer away from the thoughts of those who lost their touch with the Church, for he was never anything but thoroughly Catholic.

Mr. Schimberg has penetrated deeply into the spirit of Ozanam. He has written a popular book, derived from a careful study of secondary sources, following principally *Frederick Ozanam in His Correspondence* by Louis Baunard, as can readily be gathered from the fifty-one direct quotations. He also made extensive use of the works on Ozanam by Kathleen O'Meara, J. Brodrick, S.J., and Henry Louis Hughes. He inserts many direct quotations from the published works of Ozanam himself. Throughout, the book is a mosaic of quotations that give it a spirit of authority and yet blend into a whole that is easily read.

The historical background is sufficient to put Ozanam into a definite framework. Attention should, however, be called to a few slips of the writer. Gregory XVI was elected in 1831, not in 1830 (p. 20). Caesar's death occurred in 44 B. C., not in 43 (p. 21). The Bourbons returned to the throne of France ten years before the indicated date of 1824 (p. 200)—the statement is contradicted in the book itself (p. 8). In 1829 the "Diocese of Baltimore" did not have merely "the primacy of honor," but it was an archdiocese, and there were ten other dioceses in the United States, not a total of nine (p. 20), if we include, as we should, the Diocese of Richmond, which was never suppressed but merely put under the administration of the Archbishop of Baltimore. Louis XVIII was not the son, but the brother of Louis XVI, as was also Charles X (p. 200, note). The only children of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette were Louis Dauphin (XVII) and Marie Therese. But these are merely small slips in an extensive historical background.

Although the book contains no introduction or preface, an appendix carries a list of books and articles useful for further study, a Vincentian and Ozanam chronology, the founding dates of first Vincentian conferences in the various countries, and a short index. The volume should appeal to all members of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, and it should be a welcome introduction to the life of the great Vincentian for all who are interested in the social phase of the Church's life.

THEODORE ROEMER

St. Lawrence College
Mount Calvary, Wisconsin

John Henry Newman. By CHARLES F. HARROLD. (New York. Longmans, Green and Co. 1945. Pp. xv, 473. $3.50.)

Professor Harrold is already favorably known as the editor of a skilful and attractive anthology of Newman's prose which was published in 1943. His new book is a major work and will at once establish his reputation as an outstanding authority on Newman's thought. It is not an easy book to describe, and the author is somewhat apprehensive that his purpose may be misunderstood. A supplementary title, "An Expository and Critical Study of His Mind, Thought and Art," and a careful preface seek to prepare the reader for the special character of the pages which follow.

Professor Harrold begins with several biographical chapters and proceeds to a description and an estimate of "Three Great Labours"—the writing of the *Development of Christian Doctrine,* the *Idea of a University,* and the *Grammar of Assent.* He then considers a number of minor works. He concludes with a very effective analysis of Newman's art, and a judicious estimate of his legacy to our world. The author summarizes with great thoroughness and fine accuracy what Newman said on many subjects throughout a long and varied career, and what in turn a multitude of critics have written about Newman's life and thought.

The book is thick with quotations, and supported by notes and references which fill nearly ninety pages, including a twelve-page bibliography of remarkable completeness. The author has been preparing this study for thirteen years and the volume of his notes must have posed a difficult problem in organization. However, the scheme which he has adopted is successful, and enables him to present a vast store of material within reasonable compass. The result is a general handbook invaluable for the student of Newman.

It is not easy reading, and possibly it was never meant to be. The general reader will probably not linger long over its pages, packed with names, dates, and learning not always well disguised. Too often the author has loaded his sentences with references which he might well have relegated to the notes. He insists on giving immediate credit, in the text, for every opinion which he introduces, and so he sprinkles his paragraphs with scrupulous interruptions: "as Juergens has shown," "D'Arcy has observed," "as Cronin points out," "as J. Elliott Ross has put it." Sometimes the reader is overwhelmed with such a sentence as "Morover, Locke's nominalism appears here and there in the tissue of Newman's argument, giving rise to the charges of Lebreton, Grandmaison, Baudin, Fairbairn and D'Arcy" (p. 133).

These occasional faults in presentation are irritating, but they do not affect the fundamental value of the book. They will doubtless discourage the average reader, but the attentive and serious student will be amply rewarded for his effort. New lines of thought will open before him, and many brilliant quotations will give him a sharp awareness of significant points. Professor Harrold himself contributes a number of interesting judgments, and leaves one regretting that he has been so unobtrusive and so deferential to critics of less learning and less acumen.

The author is at his best in dealing with literary questions, and in setting forth the theories which explain the more difficult philosophical and theological writings of Newman. In historical matters the reviewer found the book competent but not distinguished. Some of the earlier passages are quite matter of fact, and rather lacking in imagination. The smell of the seminar lamp is very apparent. One notices, too, that the author's errors, exceptionally rare in number, usually are in the field of history. As ill luck would have it, he blunders in the very first line of the book in calling Renan a priest at the time of his departure from St. Sulpice. Renan was twenty-two and still a seminarian who had declined to proceed to the sub-diaconate. There seems to be some confusion also when the author suggests that Newman was drawn to Gregory because of the belated recognition given that great churchman, a point of similarity between them (p. 230). But Newman wrote this sketch when he was still a young man and he published the final version many years before he was himself honored!

These minor criticisms should not give a wrong impression. The book is the best thing on Newman to appear in the centenary year, or in many years. Students will place it on their shelves next to Ward's classic life, and, if they are wise, use it often. The author has earned our gratitude for the effective completion of a laborious task and the production of a work of solid and enduring merit.

J. F. Leddy

University of Saskatchewan

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

The Jesuits in Old Oregon. By WILLIAM N. BISCHOFF, S.J. (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1945. Pp. xvii, 258. $3.00.)

The sub-title, "A Sketch of Jesuit Activities in the Pacific Northwest," indicates the subject and scope of this book. The author's stated purpose is to record briefly the contribution of his fellow religious to "the religious, social and intellectual betterment of this area." He had a topic of interest and of importance to the history of the Church in this country, and one which as a whole has not been dealt with. The Jesuits during the past century have, indeed, played a noteworthy part in the foundation and development of the Church in the Northwest. They were missionary pioneers and for many decades sole workers in Montana, northern Idaho, and northeastern Washington, and they had as well a share in the establishment of the Church in northwestern Oregon. In the course of time they expanded their work into adjacent areas and diversified it.

The book consists of two main parts, the first of which treats severally of the Jesuit missions during the 1840's and 1850's; the second and larger part contains separate sketches of their various foundations and activities grouped into chapters by states. Fully three-fourths of the text concerns their work among the Indians.

No one can censure the author for keeping close to his subject, but he may be criticized for having hewn too closely to the line, or to change the simile, for having isolated his story almost in a vacuum. One finds exceedingly few references even to contemporary persons or events who or which were often an integral part of the story. To mention the most glaring omission, even the part which the sisters played is very inadequately indicated, for at most of the Jesuit Indian missions, not only was the girls' school under the sisters' care but its financial maintenance was also their responsibility. That fact is completely obscured. The Christian Brothers, who at one time supplied teachers for most of the boys' schools, are not even mentioned, nor are the lay teachers who generally performed this function at other times. Indian agents are brought into the story only in the roll of villains, despite the fact that Agents Vaughan, Simms, Rohan and others like them were honest and capable officials and rendered invaluable assistance to the Jesuits. The financial aid which Father De Smet secured for the missions over a long period of time is not mentioned, nor that given by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith; scarcely any credit is given to Mother Katherine Drexel for her very considerable help, nor to the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, which rendered the missions much other important service. These omissions are mentioned, because the reader is left under the impression that the Jesuits had to depend entirely upon their own efforts and some subsidies at one time from the federal government, and because lack of greater success is time and again ascribed to lack of financial support. The reader is given too meagre information about the government's Indian policy and its relations with the missions at various times, which vitally affected the course of events. The story as a whole also suffers for want of general background, which would have given it perspective.

In the preparation of his work the author had access to the private archives of the Oregon Province of the Society, to the privately printed publications of the Jesuits, and to the records and files of most of the Jesuit houses located in the area of his study. His bibliography contains most of the books directly pertaining to Catholic history in the Northwest. This seems to have been the entire limit of his sources. But, in view of the predominance which he has given to work among the Indians, it is surprising that he has neglected, not only the National Archives, but also such readily accessible published source materials as most of the *Reports of the Commissioner of Indian affairs,* all of the *Reports of the Board of Indian Commissioners,* the *Reports of the Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, the Indian Sentinel,* Kappler's *Indian Laws and Treaties,* Royce's *Indian Land Cessions,* and the like. He has also apparently missed many articles in historical reviews which contain original data pertinent to subjects that he has discussed.

It is impossible fairly and exactly to gage the use which the author made of his sources, since most of those he depends upon are inaccessible to the public. It is plain, however, that he has not observed the same caution and discrimination that Father Garraghan did in the use of similar or identical documents. He values highly, for instance, memoirs written in extreme old age and anonymous sketches. He accepts at face value such documents as Ravalli's account of the closing of St. Mary's Mission, which, by the way, was written for Palladino and rejected by him almost *in toto.* His narrative differs here and elsewhere quite appreciably from corresponding parts of Garraghan's *Jesuits in the Middle United States,* obviously because of a different judgment regarding the value and significance of practically the same documents. Various errors and omissions would indicate that careful use had not always been made of such sources as Chittenden's *Life, Letters and Tarvels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S. J.* Sometimes quotations are so tailored as seriously to modify their original meaning. One on page 127 is a glaring example of this. The most objectionable instance of this kind, however, in the opinion of the reviewer, are the fragments to be found on page 75, purporting to give the Jesuit philosophy and program of education in their mission schools, and the author's commentary on this subject. It makes sense, it is true, and very good sense. But both quotation and interpretation are incomplete by reason of the suppression of ideas which Father Palladino and his associates might wish today they had not expressed or put into practice. Minor errors of various kinds are abundant; sometimes one encounters whole nests of them. The early history of St. Ignatius' School is one eaxmple of this. The school attempted by the Jesuits the year before the sisters' arrival is not mentioned; the fact that the sisters' school for girls was the only school at the mission for a decade or more is not made plain; government assistance to this school in its early years is denied, contrary to fact; and so on. The accounts of St. Peter's and St. Paul's Schools have similar defects.

The inadequacy or lack of synthesis of the data is another major flaw in the work. It was apparently not perceived that the Jesuits' early mission work was guided and shaped by the purpose of duplicating the Paraguay Reductions. This conception was De Smet's. To miss it in his writings and in those of his associates and early followers and to miss the evidence of it in their work seems scarcely possible, but that is what has happened. It would be interesting to the reader to know when, why, how, and by whom a different conception and plan of Indian work were originated and developed. With the establishment of schools that did occur. It was a plan radically different from the early plan. The Jesuits' work became school-centered, more and more so. Was this program and the means taken to carry it out adequate to the changing needs of the Indians? The Jesuits' disappointment with the results of their efforts the author ascribes mainly to the bad influence of white neighbors and lack of money. That explanation does not entirely satisfy one inquisitive reader. He is also dissatisfied with many minor interpretations and conclusions of the author, which seem tendacious rather than objective.

J. B. Tennelly

Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions
Washington, D. C.

Lone-Star Vanguard: The Catholic Re-Occupation of Texas, 1838-1848. By Ralph Bayard, C.M. (St. Louis: Vincentian Press. 1945. Pp. xiii, 453. $3.75.)

In Spanish colonial days religious edifices in Texas were erected at strategic points from the Rio Grande to the Sabine, and Catholic missionary activity was virile. With the passing of years, however, sad days followed the grand beginnings, and the Church suffered a severe set-back as a result of secularization, revolution, and counter-revolution. When the republic came into existence in 1836, there were only two priests permanently residing in the whole length and breadth of the land. The once great mission churches lay in ruins; cactus grew in the naves of the roofless, bat-infested structures, and shrubs and mesquite trees reclaimed the adjoining fertile mission lands. New beginnings had to be made.

Ralph Bayard tells the story of the Catholic re-occupation of Texas in *Lone-Star Vanguard.* The account opens in 1838 when John Timon, superior of the Vincentians in America, carrying with him a copy of David Edward's *Historical Guide* to assist him in his travels, "set sail for Texas [to] visit the most significant settlements, take suitable measures for a central establishment, and return to dispatch . . . missionaries thither." Thus was inaugurated a ten-year span of activities during which a colorful group of churchmen laid the foundations upon which the subsequent sturdy growth of the Church rests. Beyond all question it was due to the "initiative, courage, and far-sighted planning" of John Timon, as Prefect Apostolic of Texas that religious activities were successfully resumed.

The author's treatment follows the broad biographical pattern, with the story taking shape around the activities of Timon and John Mary Odin. Other important co-workers as John Brands, Michael Calvo, Eudald Estany, and Raymond Sala, to mention only a few, march in review and help fill in the detail. The treatment is chronological, with greatest emphasis placed on the activities of the first years. In fact, fully three-fourths of the narrative is devoted to the first five years, where Odin's notable diary is put to good use and where the available material is more abundant and colorful.

From numerous and scattered archival deposits, the author has uncovered and used much new material to weave a sound narrative. Count Alphonse de Saligny, the meddlesome French chargé d'affairs to the Texan Republic, is presented in an interesting light. For the first time he has his better nature revealed, and historians can well profit by reading of the work of the chargé in behalf of the Church, and so acquaint themselves with some of his more praiseworthy activities which lessen substantially the harsh portrayal that currently obtains.

The use of foreign words and expressions throughout the narrative—approximately one to the page—might be questioned. In the opinion of the present reviewer foreign terms should be used sparingly, and only for well-considered reasons. Except where a technical meaning is necessary, in which case footnotes usually will serve adequately, ideas can be expressed just as pointedly, elegantly, and forcefully without recourse to foreign phraseology. Particularly is this true when an author has a pen as facile, and ideas as plentiful, as has Professor Bayard.

Lone-Star Vanguard deserves a large audience. The lay reader will find it an informative, gracefully written, and well-rounded narrative of the progress of the Church; the professional historian will regard it as a definite contribution to Texana, and will find it indispensable for all re-

33996

lated work in the field. Based almost entirely on manuscript sources, it is a work of decided merit and genuine scholarship. By including sufficient political and social background material, the author is able to present his characters and events with an intimacy and understanding that make refreshing reading. Fortunately, the job has been done so thoroughly that it will never have to be done again.

Joseph W. Schmitz

St. Mary's University
San Antonio

Catholics and the Civil War. By Benjamin J. Blied. (Milwaukee: The Author. 1945. Pp. 162. $2.50.)

As the author states in his preface, the essays included in this collection are meant to be suggestive rather than exhaustive or definitive. The opening chapters, "From Polk to Lincoln" and "Catholicism and Abolitionism," are less useful in fulfilling the author's purpose in this respect than subsequent ones which are concerned more specifically with Catholic participation in the Civil War.

"From Polk to Lincoln" is a rather summary survey of the two decades prior to 1861, which is complete neither for its portrayal of Catholic development nor for the broader national background. The statement that William Lloyd Garrison "had the knack of developing a huge following among religious and agnostics alike" (p. 17) is hardly consistent with the actual number of Garrisonian adherents.

The chapter on abolitionism is likewise an incomplete digest of available material. Father Blied quite rightly attributes the insignificance of Catholic influence upon public opinion to limited numbers, lack of organization, and prevalent popular hostility. At the same time in his analysis of the Catholic reaction to abolitionism and the anti-slavery movement he overlooks a number of significant influences within the church body, such as nationalist predispositions among the immigrant membership, especially the Irish, political affiliation, fear of Negro competition in the labor market, the vigorous opposition to emancipation in influential religious journals, the European ties of the hierarchy, and the failure of lay or clerical leaders to stress a positive approach to the slavery issue.

The section devoted to the Civil War is more completely the product of the author's independent investigation and interpretation. It includes chapters on "Bishops of the North," "Bishops of the South," "Catholic Press," "Influencing Europe," "Fenian Brotherhood," "Charity in the Armies," and "Wisconsin Catholics." For his analysis of ecclesiastical opinion Father Blied has used to good advantage the Purcell-Spalding correspondence in the Archives of the University of Notre Dame. Similarly in the chapter on the religious press he has made a valuable contribution with his use of the Cincinnati *Der Wahreitsfreund* and the New Orleans *Le Propagateur Catholique,* journals infrequently cited in studies of Catholic opinion.

The discussion of Catholic participation in the propaganda efforts of both Union and Confederacy to secure European support throws light on an interesting phase of ecclesiastical activity during the War. Father Blied describes the services of Archbishop Hughes when he went abroad, in a private capacity but at the instigation of Secretary Seward, and of Bishop Lynch who undertook a similar, though less well-known mission, at the behest of the Confederate government. In connection with these and other efforts at influencing European opinion through the medium of prominent American Catholics the author has drawn upon the collected instructions and dispatches in Stock's *United States Ministers to the Papal States* (Washington, 1933). An interesting source also is the correspondence between Ludwig I of Bavaria and the Abbot Boniface Wimmer of Pennsylvania.

The study of Catholicism in the frontier state of Wisconsin during the war period deals with a somewhat neglected phase of Catholic development. Father Blied's suggestive discussion of opinion and personalities such as Father Francis Weninger, S.J., and Milwaukee's Bishop Henni might well inspire research in frontier Catholicism to follow up the trail blazed a few years ago by Thomas T. McAvoy's *Catholic Church in Indiana* (New York, 1940), and Gilbert J. Garraghan's *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York, 1938).

The bibliography is admittedly selective, which no doubt explains certain omissions. The value as a guide to future research would be greater had it included reference to the manuscript collections used by the author, such as that at Notre Dame, and to the religious newspapers of the period. One notes the omission of an important source in Bishop John England's *Letters on the Subject of Domestic Slavery.* Indispensable also to any study of Catholicism in its relation to slavery and the Civil War is the question of the Church and the Negro. Already available are such pioneer studies as those by Joseph Butsch and Stephan L. Theobold, John LaFarge's *Interracial Justice,* and John T. Gillard's *The Catholic Church and the American Negro* (Baltimore, 1929), and *Colored Catholics in the United States* (Baltimore, 1941). Father Gillard's sudden death several years ago removed from this field of historical research an understanding and competent scholar whose preliminary work should encourage students to extend and amplify his investigations.

MADELEINE HOOKE RICE

Hunter College

GENERAL HISTORY

The Liberal Tradition. By William Aylott Orton. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1945. Pp. xiv, 317. $3.50.)

To most American Catholic historians liberalism is, at best, an unsavory thing. It is usually associated with such names as Mazzini, Guizot, and Bentham, with such movements as the Enlightenment, utilitarianism, positivism, and anticlericalism. Not so with Professor Orton. He seeks to rescue liberalism and the liberal heritage from these associations, to establish its origin in the Greek system of thought and in the Christian concept of man, to show its historical role in molding the western world, to expose nineteenth-century aberrations from true liberalism — deviations such as positivism, materialism, pragmatism, utilitarianism and Marxism — as cancerous growths, and to lay bare the true liberal tradition so that men who wish to be free in the future can know their true heritage.

Professor Orton, therefore, holds that the liberal tradition is a good tradition; he rejects such aberrations as positivism and Marxism and étatism of any kind, precisely because they are illiberal. *The Liberal Tradition,* sub-titled "A Study of the Social and Spiritual Conditions of Freedom," is not a history of liberalism; but the author does devote almost half his study to the historical growth of the liberal tradition. He sees its origin in Greek culture, its essence in the Christian concept of man and the consequent limits upon state authority. The nineteenth century is, by and large, a "Valley of Dry Bones" in which the liberal tradition cut away from its roots and denied itself in materialism and positivism.

This historical section is the weakest part of the book. In it the reader will find many good insights and many trenchant statements, e.g., "The modern cathedral is the battleship" (p. 196). "A policy may be doctrinaire even though its particular doctrine is admirable" (p. 236). But there are inaccuracies of fact, as the statement that Diderot's *Encyclopédie* was "proscribed on appearance" (p. 141). There are many such incorrect statements as these: "Philosophy has never succeeded in defining the nature of man, and never will" (p. 51); and "Heresy is more a matter of intention than of doctrine" (p. 71). Objectionable, too, are typically Whiggish interpretations of historical events. "The proletariat is an idea rather than an actuality" (p. 120) is one example; another is the statement that "where trade-unions are officially encouraged to eliminate competition between employees, and groups of employees, employers may be expected to follow suit" (p. 276) — the implication being that employers had not entered into combinations to eliminate competition until they learned the trick from unions.

Despite such inaccuracies, Professor Orton shows a healthy common sense. He gives to the human person its unique value, and for that reason he fears the omnipotent, omnicompetent state advocated by many "liberals" today. He sees the value of subsidiary groups, both vocational and geographic, in protecting the person from the state. The best part of the book, indeed, is his analysis of the essential rottenness of positivism, individualism, and materialism. There can be no vital liberalism, his theme runs, unless man values himself at his true worth and gives to Christianity its place of supreme importance.

For many readers the solution — if it can be called such — to the crisis of liberalism will be disappointing. Professor Orton believes that security is being purchased with liberty, and he does not think it is a good buy. He makes his choice in favor of liberty, knowing that there will be inequity and suffering in the world, but he thinks liberty worth the price. His stand is that of a comfortable Whig whose liberty is bought with other mens' security.

The book is nonetheless healthy; it is a much better than average treatment of the difficult subject of liberalism. Its chief value lies in its rescuing the terms "liberal" and "liberalism" from such self-appointed "liberals" as Max Lerner and Harold Laski and in showing how the traditional Christian view of man is essential to any sound liberalism. A satisfactory history of liberalism remains to be written; a solution to the problem of getting a measure of security while preserving human liberty remains to be worked out. *The Liberal Tradition* prepares the way for both these accomplishments.

THOMAS P. NEILL

St. Louis University

The Germans in History. By HUBERTUS ZU LOEWENSTEIN. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1945. Pp. xii, 584. $5.00.)

If this book may be said to have a thesis, it appears to be that once Germany was the protagonist of a universalistic "Kingdom of God on earth," and that she will again become a great power when and if she resumes that role. Its author is a man of faith and of genuine goodness of mind. He has bravely taken issue with many propagandistic views of German history, now inevitably as fashionable as they are biased and unsound. Yet one is left wondering, first whether what he writes is likely to persuade anybody, and second whether it should.

By "universalism" Prince Loewenstein apparently means several different things. It is the form of human society which, although St. Thomas is silent on the matter, follows from a "Trinitarian" theology and from St. Augustine's concept of the earthly city which should mirror the heavenly one. Again, it is the proper end reached by Hegel's dialectic which, the prince says, is the great Christian philosophy of history. On a more mundane level, it is something which haunted Bismarck and which suggests the union of Austria and modern Germany proper. Finally, it is that which, while satisfying modern man's longing for socialism, abhors the reasoning of Marx and his followers. The reviewer confesses to not having been able to discover just how it is all of these things, or why. But during the course of his argument the prince says some very good things, and some which seem to this reviewer not so commendable. With these particularisms I shall content myself, because a discussion of whether we ought to re-establish the Holy Roman Empire promptly would lie outside my competence.

Here are, for instance, some excellent pages on Tacitus, based on actual reading of that great Roman historian; pictures of the great monarchs who restored the empire on what they sensed to be the surviving foundations of ancient Rome; and a number of incisive comments on the German mystics, Wallenstein, and the Hussite wars. On the other hand, the treatment of the Reformation is sketchy in the extreme, the treatment of the Guelph-Ghibelline controversy quite partisan, and the discussion of the resistance to Napoleon so incomplete that while pages are devoted to Fichte there is not so much as a mention of Goerres. Even more extraordinary is the fact that the rise of the Center Party is seen wholly through Bismarck's eyes. Bachem's history, which for all its faults is still the only history of the party, is not even included in the bibliography. Stresemann was the Weimar Republic's only great man; and literally everything Centrists undertook was wrong. There is a curious section on Stefan George, apparently designed to make of that artist a distinguished religious prophet as well; and somewhere a nice, friendly essay on Ricarda Huch as an historical novelist is inserted. On the other hand, the prince's speculations on what ought to be done to reconstruct Europe and Germany are well worth reading and pondering, in spite of some quite visionary remarks.

A very great deal of work has gone into writing this lengthy and often well-annotated treatise, and one regrets that this toil was not directed by sounder method. It unfortunately gives the impression of being the prince's notebook arranged in more or less chronological sequence. But on the whole it does outline the German point of view more effectively than Hauser and others have been able to present it.

GEORGE N. SHUSTER

Hunter College

MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century. By J. R. H. MOORMAN. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: MacMillan Co. 1945. Pp. xxviii, 444. $5.50.)

This very interesting volume is a valuable contribution to the ecclesiastical and social history of mediaeval England. It is descriptive rather than narrative; and the author is less inclined to give extended discussions of his own than to gather a mass of facts, figures, and particular instances, each carefully footnoted to its source. It is a happy combination of learning with readability.

The author confines his attention to the clergy, the secular clergy and the bishops filling the larger part of the book. Chapters are devoted to the origin and growth of parishes and other churches, to rectors, vicars, and the lower strata of ecclesiastics, to the parsonage, clerical education, clerical incomes, and the relations of priest and people. Then follow three chapters on certain aspects of the work of bishops, and two chapters on the need of reforms and the efforts that were made to meet it. The author emphasizes the large number of clergy in proportion to the population, and also the real poverty of all but a few of the highly placed; and this oversupply and underpayment he believes were partly responsible for the ignorance and lack of discipline and of religious leadership that were so prevalent. The author deserves our gratitude for having gathered so much on the parochial clergy who have been much less studied than the regulars.

Coming to the older monastic orders we are on more familiar ground. It is the picture of a group who not long before had been the inspiring moral leaders of Christendom, but who were now settling gently into a less exacting kind of life where the rewards of the next world could be pleasantly combined with the amenities of this. There are special chapters on administration, financial affairs, and the monks' daily life. Strangely, it is the friars who are least adequately treated. The thirteenth was their century, and Mr. Moorman has a strong admiration for the original Franciscans and has previously written a notable book in the field; but here they receive a meager two chapters, which, however, like the rest of the volume, are solid with facts, footnotes, and sympathetic understanding.

It is scarcely generous to suggest omissions in a book which covers so large a field and succeeds in condensing so much solid information into 400 pages; some readers might feel that, if any criticism were to be made, it would be that the book has already almost too many facts and leaves too little space to interpretation and synthesis. Yet in spite of his real admiration, this reviewer finished the book with a certain feeling of disappointment; it seemed to be incomplete. The information is drawn largely from legal and financial sources — from bishops' registers, visitation records, synodal statutes, chartularies, and account books — and doubtless this is a reason why the work gives a very preponderantly legal-financial-administrative picture of thirteenth-century religion. Even in this field there are inevitably omissions, but it was the omission of other things that especially struck the reviewer. The title promises to treat "church life," yet the living spirit seems almost to have been overlooked in the mass of information about the body. There is very little on the specifically religious thought and feeling of the age, either good or bad. Little or nothing is told us of the forms of piety among high or low — of the forms taken by devotion to Our Lady, of which saints were popular, of whether St. Bernard and St. Francis had an influence on the form or intensity of devotion to Christ, of pilgrimages, confraternities, gilds, of the extent and character of concern about the devil. There is scarcely a hint about liturgical developments, and the influence they may have had in favorable surroundings. There are few references to religious art, of which so much survives, and which continental scholars know how to use as source material in the study of religious history. There is practically nothing about superstitions on the one hand, or about great Christian personalities (there were several English saints in this century) on the other — yet the production of them is the purpose of "church life." There is nothing on the history of religious ideas at Oxford and Cambridge; nothing on spiritual writings or the spiritual life. The religious ideas and ideals of an age, even if not always the highest and even if only imperfectly realized, are an essential part of its "church life;" it is they which give interpretation and value to the always halting efforts to give them external expression. Mr. Moorman's book is excellent for its more or less material information about the clergy — especially the rather impersonal and statistical "common man;" let us now hope for another to set beside it and fill out the picture.

CARLETON M. SAGE

The Catholic University of America

The Herbal of Rufinus. Edited by LYNN THORNDIKE. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1945. Pp. xliii, 476. $5.00.)

The learned world owes Professor Thorndike a debt of gratitude for making easily available the text of a remarkable and little-known work. How little-known it is, may be judged by the fact that there is no mention of it in such works on the history of botany as Kurt Sprengel's *Historia rei herbariae,* Julius Sachs' *Geschichte der Botanik,* Harvey-Gibson's *Outlines of the History of Botany,* Arber's *Herbals, Their Origin and Evolution,* and even Greene's *Landmarks of Botanical History.* Linne's *Philosophia Botanica* (Stockholm, 1751, pp. 1-17), has no mention of Rufinus, although such *obscuri* of the twelfth century as Hildegard, Cuba, Platearius, et al., are listed.

The herbal of Rufinus, composed "not long after A. D. 1287" and apparently extant in only one manuscript, is of considerable importance in several fields of science. Thus, Professor Thorndike mentions that Rufinus quotes extensively from a hitherto unknown edition of Dioscorides, that about one-fifth of the work consists of Rufinus' original descriptions of plants (a very high proportion for writings of those days), while the authorities or sources for the other four-fifths of the text are systematically and clearly indicated by Rufinus, an uncommon procedure in the writings of that period. Rufinus lists the names of plants alphabetically. Under each plant name he cites first the medical properties (the inevitable, monotonous "hot" or "cold") as given by some six or seven previous authorities and he then gives what his predecessors omit, a description of the plant itself. These descriptions are of very great importance in establishing the identity of the plants because nearly all other mediaeval authors, except "Circa Instans," give merely the medical or other use of the plants without a single word of description of the plant, e.g., St. Hildegard's *De Plantis,* interesting as it is linguistically and historically, does not give a solitary word of description of any of the plants mentioned. By contrast, Rufinus describes many plants. Thus, he writes "Facit multas virgulas super unam radicem . . . habet folia perforata minutis foraminibus, flores eius valde crocei et spissi" (pp. 152-153). From this description botanists will recognize Hypericum perforatum L., the common St. Johnswort or a closely allied species of the same genus.

In his introduction, Dr. Thorndike makes several penetrating observations that illustrate his understanding of the times of which he writes, e.g., noting that Rufinus apparently never saw the well-known *De vegetibilibus* of Albertus Magnus, he cites this to show how slowly writings spread before the invention of printing. Again he states that the herbalists certainly must have observed accurately the plants they used for medicine (p. xv). This is true of existing primitive peoples who show an astonishing fund of accurate botanical and ecological knowledge. Perhaps the reason why plants are so seldom described in the mediaeval herbals is simply because the writers could presume on everyone knowing the plant.

The Herbal of Rufinus will also be very useful because of the flood of light it throws upon the identity of the plants connoted by mediaeval plant names. These names are of prime importance to the archaeologist, the anthropologist, and the linguist. They are often the only reliable landmarks that permit the migrations of races, of languages, and of cultures to be traced in early and even in prehistoric times. In this connection should be mentioned Johannes Hoops' *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen.*

Professor Thorndike's text is critically edited and supplemented with five useful indices that make the information readily accessible. He has further facilitated the usefulness of the text by printing Rufinus' own writings in large type and the quoted matter in small type. No library on the history of botany can afford to be without a copy of this book.

Hugh T. O'Neill

The Catholic University of America

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

William the Silent. William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, 1533-1584. By Cicely V. Wedgwood. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1944. Pp. ix, 302. $3.00.)

Written in attractive style, this biography of William the Silent ought to have considerable appeal. The author has thrown William's career into sharp relief against the complicated political, social, moral, and religious life of the Low Countries and the movements of events precipitated by Philip II's policies. Motley's brilliant but partisan account still serves as a starting point for readers who wish to study these events. Miss Wedgwood, however, presents a sober portrait of Philip without the cramping prejudices that characterized so much of the work of nineteenth-century historians. Nevertheless, this biography is not wholly satisfactory from the standpoint of current scholarship. It appears doubtful for example, that the writer has read the articles by Professors Blok and Van Schelven in the *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde,* Series VI, Volumes IV (1926) and V (1927), dealing with William's plan in 1568 to have the Duke of Alba assassinated.

A clearer delineation of the religious setting in which William and Philip played out their parts would have been desirable. There is much misinformation on this subject, books in English usually misrepresenting the situation. There was an extensive sacramentarian movement during the 1520's among the instructed upper class in the towns. Humanism also flourished among this class as in the case of Erasmus, the spearhead of widespread criticism of the difficulties confronting the Church. The sacramentarians, it should be noted, usually were humanists; but most humanists never became sacramentarians. Contrary to the usual opinion, Lutheranism never struck extensive roots among the population, although Luther's teaching undeniably exerted much influence, especially among German merchants in Antwerp and people who had contacts with them. During the third and fourth decades, anabaptism spread among the rural population and the lower classes in the towns, drawing its teaching about the holy eucharist from the sacramentarians or from Zwingli's conception borrowed from Wessel Gansfort who seems to have influenced the sacramentarians. All anabaptists did not, however, as seems implied, advocate communism (p. 22).

None of these forces, however, could win universal support among the people. Sacramentarianism and humanism were popular only among the upper classes. Anabaptism scorned by them, appealed mostly to people of humble station. Lutheranism, being German, failed to appeal. The bulk of the population remained faithful to the traditional faith. So long as Charles guided the political policies of the Low Countries the political issue, closely linked with the religious, never became serious. But a crisis dawned when Philip adopted a Spanish policy, foreign to the traditions and interests of the Low Countries. Calvanism grew mightily as the revolt progressed, for its doctrine of legitimate resistance to a lawfully-constituted prince, provided a satisfactory basis for the struggle against Philip. Lutheranism, with its doctrine of subserviency to princes, failed to win support. Humanists, like the sacramentarians, were ineffective politically. Only when these two elements were united in the sterner creed of Calvin could a national doctrine of revolt be formulated.

The author correctly states some of the difficulties confronting the Church. The nobility had long used the Church to their own advantage, filling every desirable post with landless sons or with daughters for whom they could not provide dowries. When, therefore, especially beginning with the Council of Trent, efforts were made to rid the Church of such irregularities, the forces that battened on her resources were opposed to any program which curtailed their influence. In the struggle that ensued, the writer wisely declares, it was difficult "to disentangle sincere and self-interested motives among Protestants on the one side or Catholics on the other. At all times some men will be moved by deep spiritual motives incomprehensible to the materialist, unpredictable and inexplicable in terms of politics and economics. It adds something to know the economic thrust behind the Reformation but it diminishes knowledge to see that and nothing else. Some men made a good thing out of the new religion: others died for it in agony. Some men saw their interests bound up with the old Church, others perished rather than deny it."

HENRY S. LUCAS

University of Washington

Pascal and His Sister Jacqueline. By M. V. WOODGATE. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1945. Pp. vii, 207. $2.00.)

Of Blaise Pascal much has been written in many languages; of his sister, Jacqueline, little in any language and nothing in the nature of a biography in English. Neither the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* nor the *Britannica* gives her an article. Of course, she does not compare in interest with her brother nor does she have the historical importance of the distinguished Blaise, but the part she played in his life makes a work of this kind of value. M. V. Woodgate has presented a popular treatment that will prove enlightening even for one with some knowledge of Blaise Pascal. In a smooth, easy-to-read, style the author introduces us to the Pascal family and traces in some detail the stories of Blaise and Jacqueline with special emphasis on the devotion that existed between the two and on the influence which the younger sister exercised on her famous brother.

Jacqueline as a child was almost as precocious as Blaise, although in different fields. Her skill at verse-making and play-acting made her something of a figure in the court circles of Paris. She is even credited with having won from Richelieu a return to favor for her father. Through Blaise she was introduced to the teaching of Port Royal, and while his interest for the time waned she became more attached to the movement and eventually entered the Port Royal convent. There she remained his confidante and eventually he again became interested to the extent of participating in the life of the hermits surrounding the convent and of becoming ultimately the most effective apologist for the Port Royal Jansenists in the *Provincial Letters,* of which the author gives a good and mildly critical account. When five propositions of Jansen's *Augustinus* were condemned and the sisters at Port Royal were ordered to sign the condemnation and the accompanying *mandement,* Jacqueline went through a period of intense indecision and sorrow, feeling that she could not honestly sign them. She finally did sign with many misgivings and from that time she declined in health and died shortly after at the age of thirty-six. The author claims that she died of a broken heart; certainly her last days were sad ones as a result of the controversy over the condemnation. Blaise outlived her only a short time. He died a holy death after having found in his religious faith that peace and happiness that seemed to have eluded his beloved sister at the end.

The author does not take up the question of Pascal's attitude on the matter which so disturbed his sister, the signing of the condemnation and mandate. His *Ecrit sur la signature* which has led to so much argument, is not discussed. Perhaps it might be said that such controversial issues are beyond the author's objective. The purpose seems to be at present a readable account of the relations between brother and sister and to revive particularly the memory of Jacqueline. In this the book succeeds and can be heartily recommended to the general reader. For the historian the volume will have little value. While the author seems to have a good grasp of his subject he gives no bibliography and quotations are made frequently from letters with no indication of the source of the reference. There is only one such reference in the entire volume.

Cathedral College
Brooklyn

THOMAS J. KELLY

Years of Victory. By ARTHUR BRYANT. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1945. Pp. xii, 468. $4.00.)

In *Years of Victory* Arthur Bryant has written a worthy sequel to his *Years of Endurance.* With England's role in the recent global conflict obviously in mind, he has told brilliantly of the very similar role played by her in the world struggle against Napoleon; even his chapter titles sound a modern note: "No Peace with the Dictator" and "England Alone." This is truly a volume for devotees of the axiom that "history repeats itself."

The story that Mr. Bryant tells is, of course, familiar in its broad outlines. With complete mastery he takes the reader through the maze of negotiations over Switzerland and Malta that led to the rupture of the truce of Amiens; the threat of invasion, not safely passed until the summer of 1805 and frequently revived thereafter, is vividly portrayed; the value of Pitt's leadership in the time of crisis, preparing to take the initiative, building up the coalition that finally forced Napoleon to give up his plan for invading England, are ably presented. We see again the effect of Trafalgar, the inestimable importance of British sea power; the collapse of the Third Coalition under Napoleon's hammer blows; the subsequent economic warfare in imperial decrees and orders in council; the occupation of Portugal and Spain, with the popular uprising against the foreigner that gave England her foothold on the continent, whence she was able, after four hard years, to begin to roll back the tide of Napoleonic conquest. The story ends with the successful siege by Wellington of Cividad Rodrigo, one of the two gateways to northern Spain in January, 1812.

The story is familiar, but the telling of it is new and compelling. It is written with a sense of pressing urgency which, one may imagine, was created for Mr. Bryant by the circumstances of the England in which he wrote. It takes us back, as it were, into the heart and mind of the nineteenth-century Englishman, and tells the stirring events of those days as seen through his eyes. With him we go on a visit to the France of 1802, to be fascinated by the law and order that prevail under the First Consul's regime, or to be repelled by the thinly-veiled despotism that spells danger for the future of free men. We tour the new English manufacturing towns, and see the initial stages of the hardship and brutality that are to grow much worse before they improve. We sense the division of British public opinion between the "appeasers" and the realists who know that there can be "no peace with the dictator." We feel the growing disgust with the muddled gestures of the Addington government to organize the defense against the threatened invasion; we almost feel ourselves one of the "young barristers or elderly merchants [who] rose every morning at four to put in two or three hours under a bawling sergeant before going to their work and tramped back for another bout when their labors were done." We toil with the hardened seamen of the fleet who made impossible the projected invasion. We thrill in the success of Nelson; we groan in the darkness of the hour that marked Pitt's death and left England alone against the apparent master of the world. We take new hope in the news of the Spanish uprising, and follow, with alternating hope and despair, the sometimes incomprehensible strategy of Wellesly as he strives to preserve England's only army and make it snatch victory from almost certain disaster; we march and suffer with the hungry, cold, battered but never beaten British soldier as he toils on through the difficult Spanish terrain, on to ultimate victory.

Mr. Bryant has told his story effectively to bring it home so personally to the reader. Yet he has sacrificed none of the sound scholarship that has characterized his earlier works. Numerous footnotes refer to the standard works on the period, as well as to voluminous original material; maps are provided to illustrate the more important military and naval engagements. Mr. Bryant has written well and soundly, and he eminently deserves the inclusion of his volume in at least one of the New York *Times*' "Ten Best" Christmas lists.

Joseph H. Brady

Seton Hall College

Letters from the Berlin Embassy. Selections from the Private Correspondence of British Representatives at Berlin and Foreign Secretary Lord Granville, 1871-1874, 1880-1885. Edited with an introduction by Paul Knaplund, Professor of History in the University of Wisconsin. [Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1942. Volume II.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1944. Pp. 428. $1.25.)

Professor Knaplund, well known for his studies on Gladstone, presents here a carefully edited volume of letters from the British embassy in Berlin at the time of Gladstone's first and second ministries. They were mainly written by the ambassador there, Lord Odo Russell. Russell died on August 25, 1884. Consequently, for the remaining ten months of Gladstone's second ministry, letters of Lord Odo's successor in Berlin, Sir Edward B. Malet, are added.

The correspondence naturally centers around the figure of the Iron Chancellor who during these years was at the acme of his glory and power. Lord Odo Russell was an able diplomat of the nineteenth-century pattern, whose interest was focussed on the courts where he mastered all the techniques as a *virtuoso* and where he secured the sources of information which were almost exclusively to be found in these circles. "Odo Russell," says the editor, "achieved the unusual feat of becoming *persona grata* with Bismarck and all the members of the German imperial family, including Bismarck's enemy, the crown princess. The diplomatic successes of Russell were due in part to family connections and training, but the principal reasons must be sought in certain inborn personal qualities: exquisite tact, quick intelligence, and natural sympathy and kindliness" (p. 18). Both the strength and weakness of these private connections were derived from this approach.

The letters are, however, highly valuable for a better understanding of German and international Europeon history in the period, 1871-1885. Some remarkable observations are made concerning the personality of the German chancellor whom Russell calls in 1872 as powerful as Napoleon I (p. 57), or whom he describes in 1880 as "the most conceited minister of the most sensitive nation in the world" (p. 171). Bismarck's almost artistic obsession with foreign affairs is well illustrated by a remark made by the prince in 1881 that "talking over foreign affairs constituted the only recreation left him, in his overworked existence" (p. 188). The difficulties which beset an interview with Bismarck are often alluded to and they are aptly summarised in a letter of Russell's successor: "the only way to get him to talk is to let him run on; if you interrupt him to correct what he says he shuts up — and I have thought it best to ascertain his mind, as far as he will give it, then to enter into discussions where he is impatient of accepting" (p. 356). Bismarck's gloomy outlook as to the future of Germany as he gave it to the British diplomat in 1885, is consistent with what we already know, but it is impressive, nevertheless, "that he foresaw much trouble in the future and that he was full of anxiety for his country — what he should most like would be that some scoundrel should shoot him when the Emperor died" (p. 382).

Many miniature portraits of contemporary diplomats are drawn by Lord Odo Russell and Sir Edward Malet and some valuable light is shed, the reviewer believes, on the two enigmatic personalities of Harry von Arnim and Herbert Bismarck. The correspondence would not render fully the complexities of Berlin diplomatic life in those years if at the end Prince William were not to appear, complaining bitterly — as early as 1884 — about some British reports which "entirely misrepresent him and his feelings. The prince is . . . very much annoyed" (p. 324).

The general historical background of the first section, 1871-1874, is mainly concerned with the relations with France and the approaching *Kulturkampf*. A survey of the *papabili* cardinals is given by Odo Russell in 1872. While the characterization is not very penetrating, it has historical value as coming from a man who, as representative of Great Britain, lived for fourteen years "under the shadow of the Vatican."

The second part of the correspondence, 1880-1885, is under the spell of the African problem, concerned partly with the growing "colonial mania" of Germany, partly with the highly involved Egyptian question, the intricacies of which the Iron Chancellor mastered so well in order to obtain colonial concession for his country. The ever-present Oriental question appears in the letters time and again, although it was only lightly touched on by Bismarck himself, who bluntly stated to the British diplomat in the summer of 1880 that "in his opinion its final solution would be the occupation of Constantinople by the Russians" (p. 153).

FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI

The Catholic University of America

Wartime Mission in Spain: 1942-1945. By CARLTON J. H. HAYES. (New York: MacMillan Co. 1945. Pp. viii, 313. $3.00.)

This is the personal record of the experiences of Professor Hayes as United States Ambassador to Spain from the spring of 1943 until January, 1945. A trained historian, he has also been an agent of history himself. His account will be of interest not only to his contemporaries, but it is safe to predict that annalists of the future will be digging into it with considerable profit. The author began his sojourn in Madrid at a critical moment in the fortunes of the Allied Powers. Germany was still deep in the territory of Russia, France was under the agonizing thraldom of the Nazis, and Great Britain was still thinking largely in defensive terms as the United States marshaled its resources after the staggering blow at Pearl Harbor.

Spain at the time was officially "non-belligerent," with pronounced leanings towards the Axis. The Franco government felt assured of the ultimate victory of Hitler, and it was outspoken in support of the latter's campaign against Russia. It was also furnishing valuable supplies to the enemy. All this — together with the background of resentment stemming from the Spanish Civil War — provoked widespread antagonism against the Franco regime in both Great Britain and the United States.

Professor Hayes was charged to execute, if possible, the policy as regards Spain decided upon by his superiors in Washington. It was a policy dictated by military expediency: to keep Spain out of the war and to preserve her as a neutral barrier against further German advances in the Mediterranean area. Plans were maturing in Washington for the invasion of that region, and it was believed essential for their success to prevent Spain from becoming actively involved in the conflict.

In recounting his experiences, the author never disguises his antipathy for the fascism of Franco's government. Yet he believed — and rightly so — that it was not his task as ambassador to undermine the government to which he was accredited. To have so acted would have thwarted the objectives he had been commissioned to fulfill. "Your work in Spain was outstanding," wrote the late President to Hayes after the latter had concluded his mission. And after reading this honest report — but reading it without the prejudices that have disfigured a number of reviews — one can only agree with the favorable judgment of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

It was to Spain's interest to stay out of the war, and particularly to stop helping the Axis. It became the ambassador's task to make that ever clearer to the Spanish government. Not only did he insist that the United States had no hostile designs upon Spain, but the motives which prompted the United Nations to fight the Axis were conveyed directly to the Spanish people through elaborate agencies of information.

There were other weapons also at the disposal of the ambassador. He could offer solid proofs that it was only a question of time until the might of the Allies triumphed over the enemy. The greater wealth of the United States enabled it to outbid the Nazis for the valuable wolfram supplies. Oil from the Caribbean regions — so essential to Spain's economy — was released to the extent that Spain complied with our requests. Spain's attitude finally changed. The author makes no pretense of taking all the credit. The over-all military situation surely had a great deal to do with it. But that the ambassador played well his role, and that he is responsible in part for the change, cannot be gainsaid.

The reviewer does not agree with everything in this book. The author seems to carry too far the doctrine of non-intervention, and he is overcritical of the Spanish government-in-exile (there are a good many Christian democrats among these men). He has written a work, nevertheless, that no man professing to speak intelligently about Spain can afford to ignore.

FRANCIS E. MCMAHON

University of Chicago

AMERICAN HISTORY

The Philosophy of American History. By MORRIS ZUCKER. Two Volumes. (New York: Arnold-Howard Publishing Co., Inc. 1945. Pp. xxxii, 694; 1070. $4.50 per volume, $8.50 per set.)

In the first volume of this work the author develops with great care and at considerable length an allegedly new theory for the interpretation of history. The theory is applied in the second volume to the history of the United States, and a prediction made with respect to the future evolution of American social and economic forms. Professor Zucker's argument is, briefly, as follows: three factors — the political, the economic, and the "ideological" — constituting a dynamic complex, produce, in each epoch, the specific combination of socially significant events that we term the history of the epoch. These factors form, at each stage of civilization, a distinctive pattern of social forces, the resultant of the inter-actions of social groups. History, at any given period, is the translation of this pattern into the language of concrete events. The history of Europe in the twelfth century, for example, was determined by the existence of a political system of national dynasties, an economic structure based on feudal land ownership, and the ideological atmosphere created by the Catholic Church.

Men, it is admitted, possess free will, but the results of their free activitity are strictly limited by the conditions of the political, economic, and intellectual milieu in which they act. Napoleon was free to attempt a resuscitation of the empire of Charlemagne, but the success of the enterprise was rendered impossible by the particular framework of the above-named forces existing in nineteenth-century Europe. This historical field theory, as it is termed by its author, is at once inductive and metaphysical; it is derived from an inspection of the actual course of civilization, and it postulates the validity of the concepts of cause and law. The theory is, therefore, according to Professor Zucker, a sure instrument for the prediction of future historical events. Such a prediction is offered in this work, with regard to the future of the American people.

The author is urgent in pointing out that his method avoids the exclusiveness of Spencerian thought, or of any system of economic determinism, inasmuch as it awards full value to the ideological factor in the complex of social forces. Although the history of a given era is immensely influenced by the dominant form of ownership of economic resources, yet the prevalent moral, spiritual, and aesthetic motivations are equally decisive in inducing the specific course of socially-important events.

The application of the historical field theory to the story of the evolution of our own country as a political-economic organism, leads the author to this conclusion: the present conjunction of political, economic, and ideological forces in the United States justifies the prediction that the existing typical form of private ownership — large-scale corporate ownership of national resources — will be changed to a form of nationalized or socialized ownership. Industrial capitalism has, during the past two centuries, established a particular mode of holding and administering private property; this method is no longer in harmony with the contemporary pattern of social forces (political, economic, and ideological); it must, therefore, give way to a type of ownership that will be in accord with the twentieth-century milieu. Such an inevitable change Professor Zucker terms the "continuing American Revolution." With comforting optimism he believes that the revolution will be peaceful, and that it will mark the beginning of a near-utopia for the American people. One important warning he adds: the tranformation to what he calls greater economic democracy must be affected with no loss of political democracy. The conversion will be successful only in so far as political rights and individual liberties are safeguarded. In his own words:

> The best democratic capitalist nations in the world are impelled by the necessary laws of their economy to stagnate or fight, while war will be unnecessary to a Socialist state to the extent that it is democratically organized (I, 631).

There must, therefore, take place in this country the "abolition of private property in the socially necessary means of production — principally large-scale corporate industry" (I, 651). The modern democratic state (for example, the United States) is essentially a class state, "the champion of the capitalist class as against the small farmer and working classes" (I, 649). Such a political-economic arrangement, says Professor Zucker, is an anachronism totally out of harmony with the needs and demands of democratic masses whose power is constantly increasing. The modern democratic state in its present capitalist form must be superseded by a polity and economy organized on socialist lines.

There is not much that is really new in the theory, but the author has performed a service in re-appraising our national story from such a narrowly-focused viewpoint. Although, it would seem, he has overstressed the special factors assumed as the basis of his interpretation, yet it is equally true that these factors, in their inter-relations, have not always received from historians the attention which they deserve.

However, in the reviewer's opinion, Professor Zucker's work is marked by two main faults. In the first place, although he admits that the economic factor is only one of the determinants in history, he nevertheless interprets events in their social setting as if the economic factor was the *sole* determinant. At the critical moments of a civilization, when political and social forms, under pressure of social forces, are changed, it is, according to the description in these pages, always economics, and not politics or the ideological superstructure, which produces the transformation. The socialization of American industry, it is asserted, must take place because of the obsolescence of the dominant American economic forms. This technique of interpretation awards to the economic factor a primacy which, elsewhere in the work, is denied.

Secondly, Professor Zucker, it would seem, has ignored a real and effective alternative to his socialist solution for the United States. The alternative to the abandonment of the system of large-scale industrial capitalism is the reform of that system by the application of "ideological" principles which, on the author's own admission, are still operative in our civilization. We refer to the moral principles of justice and charity as taught by the perennial Christian tradition of the West. The vitality of these principles has been thus attested by Professor Zucker:

> Christianity was, and still is, the profoundest ideological impulse affecting Western civilization. Its influence is exerted in every walk of life, and its ramifications incline our economics, politics, education, literature, art, music, architecture, and the everyday affairs of ordinary existence . . . [The] history of Christianity involves every act of affirmation and contradiction of which the human heart is capable (I, 138-139).

If this be true — as it certainly is — any rigid concentration on the economic cause as the determinant of the historical process is inadmissible, and any recourse to a socialist revolution, even a peaceful one, is not only unnecessary but unjust.

It is necessary to refer briefly to some other faults in these two volumes. The author is not fortunate in his excursions into the history of the Church. It is — to put it mildly — inaccurate to say that "the elevation of Christianity to the state church of the Roman Empire was a tremendous political success, but a great religious disaster" (I, 141), inasmuch as it distorted "primitive Christianity." It is regrettable also that Professor Zucker's discussion of the Middle Ages is based largely on the viewpoints of Gibbon, Hallam, and H. G. Wells. Nor is the author's explanation of the origin of the primacy of the Roman Pontiff in accord with historical facts.

JOSEPH T. DURKIN

Georgetown University

Freedom and Responsibility in the American Way of Life. By CARL L. BECKER. (New York; Alfred A. Knopf. 1945. Pp. xlii, 122. $2.50.)

This book consists of five lectures delivered by the late Carl L. Becker on the William W. Cook Foundation at the University of Michigan in December, 1944. There are two ways of regarding this volume. We may omit entirely the core of its significance by simply saying that in his considerations of freedom of speech and press, the nature of constitutional government, and private economic enterprise Becker says the things that any disinterested and intelligent person who had the requisite information would quite necessarily say. Nobody of sense, for example, will deny that the technical rules of evidence and procedure which were originally designed to safeguard citizens against arbitrary government are now frequently employed against the ends of justice; or that the laissez-faire theory applied without qualification must function to the advantage of the few who by one means or another succeed in advancing their own interests; or, in short, that liberties are not locked up in phrases or in constitutions but rather are living or dying in actual social habits and institutions. This is well enough. But there are many senseless people who are not without cleverness and learning and even profundity of a kind, and there are many intelligent people who are not disinterested apostles in the world. As Mr. Santayana has remarked, there will always be absolute spirits who destest what is in accordance with the nature of things. Now it is the challengers of humane living and of everything that is in accordance with the nature of things whom Becker seeks particularly to convince of the soundness of the traditional American political philosophy. Unfortunately, Becker had already convinced himself that this philosophy had its roots in the ethical tradition of Christianity, a tradition whose premises he had dismissed as simply irrelevant for the modern mind. The result is that all that Becker has to offer is a curious faith—curious, because although the roots of this faith are gone Becker still kept that faith. This startling phenomenon appears from the following quotations: "We are not sure that the universe is anything more than the product of blind material forces that for a certain time and for reasons that are obscure happen to be active. . . . We are not sure that man is more than a peculiarly active chance deposit . . . or that the mind of man is more than a 'survial product' appearing in the human organism because useful to it in finding its way around in a hostile environment . . ." (p. 46). But we may "find some measure of assurance in the fact that democracy . . . is in harmony with the age-long human impulse to know that which is true and to follow that which is good . . ." (p. 64). The mind of man is indeed "peculiarly active" if within the space of less than twenty pages it can "find its way around" to an "age-long" impulse to know the good, the true, and the beautiful.

After that there is little need for comment except to point out that the many confusions and misconceptions throughout this work are principally due to Becker's having believed that the eighteenth-century statement of the natural law doctrine adequately reflected the mediaeval and classical doctrine. Becker would have been surprised to know that the essential error of the eighteenth-century natural law doctrine was its assimilating the diverse ends and methods of speculative and practical science, and more particularly assimilating the subject-matter of physical science and political and moral science. He would have been more surprised to know that his own efforts in this present volume seek unwittingly (and unavailingly) to restore the very core of the mediaeval and classical natural law doctrine by giving back to political science its practical character. But the emancipated intelligence is, I suppose, most of all emancipated from surprises. And as Professor Sabine tells us in his introduction to the book, Becker was posing what is "perhaps the final problem of emancipated intelligence: an idealism without illusions and a realism without cynicism." That is, to be sure, its final problem, for what it has to work with is a realism that is full of illusions and an idealism that is silly in view of its basic cynicism.

CHARLES N. R. MCCOY

St. Louis University

Preaching in the First Half Century of New England History. By BABETTE MAY LEVY. [Studies in Church History, edited by Matthew Spinka and Robert Hastings Nichols, Volume VI.] (Hartford: American Society of Church History. 1945. Pp. vii, 215. $3.00.)

The steeple on the empty New England church, Howard Mumford Jones said recently, still points unwaveringly upward and all that is lacking is a speaker, a congregation, and a burning word. This volume treats of the years when those churches were filled three times weekly to hear the first and best of New England's Puritan preachers; their words were burning, too, even when the subject was neither the pains of hell nor the dangers of Rome. It is a sympathetic and scholarly study of New England's first fifty years of pulpit literature contributed by the seventy-seven or so English-born and educated ministers who settled in the colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut and of the first group of Harvard-trained ministers who replaced the pioneers. The bibliography lists the printed sermons of twenty ministers from the first group and twelve from the second, but much of the volume is devoted to the preaching of the four Johns (Cotton, Wilson, Norton, Davenport) and the two Thomases (Hooker and Shepard) who transplanted the Puritan gospel to these shores and guarded it during their lifetime from schisms and heresies. The preparation of these men for the ministry and the immediate preparation, the content, and the style of their sermons are clearly depicted; the congregation's reception of the gospel is left in doubt.

Knowledge of the Bible was the undisputed objective of their education, and for a better understanding of the scriptures they were grounded in the liberal arts and acquainted with the outstanding commentaries not excluding the Catholic authorities, although with the latter it was probably by encyclopedias (p. 21). Acquaintance with Catholic literature was not, as the author points out, a mark of inconsistency; their desire to know the opponent's arguments and respect for learning explain it. But this respect went at times further, as when Cotton Mather *(Magnalia* [1853], I, 308) claims that John Wilson was "not behind Bellarmine" in the worth of his writings, the extension of his charity, and the beauty of his death. This comparison must have baffled many Puritans. The author does not explain why it was considered a glory to be the equal of a saintly Catholic cardinal.

The sermon having replaced the sacrifice, their preparation of it was unsparing of time and energy. Shepard spent as a rule three days on his sabbath sermon, completing the work on Friday night. Hell did not, as frequently thought, preoccupy their time (p. 25); Christology (with emphasis on His birth and early life), the covenant of grace and personal salvation was their main concern, although the mid-week sermon was frequently reserved for Rome, and politics was no stranger to the pulpit. The style was simple and plain, with a growing tendency among the Harvard ministers to parade their education (p. 131). The reception of the sermon is almost impossible to judge; the ministers eulogized each other and the people either praised or kept quiet. The constant pulpit criticism of a growing moral decline would indicate a losing battle. But the author has neglected one good test. How effective are the sermons today? The homilies of Augustine, Bede, and Bellarmine still appeal to the mind and heart. The author has also neglected another factor which explains the discouraging tone of the ministers and the decline apparent after 1670. The restored Stuarts encouraged freedom of conscience in the colonies. The period of unhampered development when non-church members were under the compulsion of attending church and keeping their thoughts to themselves was over. The opposition would have been vocal earlier if permitted. John Cotton's habit of sweetening his mouth with a morsel of Calvin before retiring was not popular with many.

This volume has been awarded the biennial Brewer Prize for 1944 by the American Society of Church History. All libraries should have it; all students of New England life will want to read it.

WILLIAM L. LUCEY

College of the Holy Cross

El Río del Espíritu Santo. By JEAN DELANGLEZ, S.J. [Monograph Series, Volume XXI.] (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society. 1945. Pp. xiii, 182. $3.00.)

The first six of the ten sections into which this volume is divided (pp. 1-95) embody a summarized discussion of the hundreds of maps which the author says (p. 9) he examined in order to prove that the Río del Espíritu Santo of the Spaniards and the Mississippi of the French are not identical. Father Delanglez deserves credit for having so valiantly pursued this herculean, and most probably sisyphean undertaking. How nerve-racking this examination and depressing its unsatisfactory outcome was the author unconsciously betrays in the seventh section (pp. 96-112) with its caustic flings at an imaginary foe, its two conflicting statements, and its uneasy pleading of a seemingly lost cause.

Fortunately, in the remaining sections Father Delanglez regains his composure. The eighth (pp. 113-133) deals with Spain after the Jolliet expedition of 1673. Here, to mention one point, the author finds it "indeed hard to believe" (p. 123) about the *Casa de Contratación* what is so easy to explain and, therefore, so easy to believe, if Spain's policy of secrecy regarding her new world discoveries is not merely the "rhetoric" Father Delanglez thinks it is (p. 26). The French are handled correspondingly in the ninth section (pp. 133-144). Vainly they sought information from the ignorant Spanish writers, even after a Frenchman mounted the Spanish throne. Little wonder, then, that before and after 1700 the French failed to identify their newly-explored Mississippi with the long-traced but never clearly revealed Río del Espíritu Santo of the Spaniards. More surprising than this, remembering Spain's old time policy of secrecy, is the statement now made by the author that "no one except La Barre" identified the two rivers in question (p. 141). Poor La Barre! If he had only known "what he was talking about" (p. 109). But what about Dablon, whose ignorance we cannot presume and who thought the two rivers were "very probably" identical (p. 101)? Or does Father Delanglez think that when we identify two things we must be certain that they are identical?

At any rate, the author is satisfied that he has proved to a certainty the main point of his study; and so in the tenth section, the conclusion (pp. 145-146), he apologizes for his *docta ignorantia* in not being able to tell his readers definitively which river of today is identical with the Río del Espíritu Santo. While not being even now so certain as Father Delanglez is with regard to the main point, the reviewer can sympathize with him concerning the other. In truth, he felt the same way some twenty years ago when, after proving, resp. "demonstrating," in the *Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673,* that the narrative of this French effort to locate and explore the Mississippi river was not composed by Father Marquette, he was unable to say to a certainty who *did* compose it, but had to be satisfied with merely suggesting on more or less valid grounds that it was Father Dablon who composed it; just as in the present essay, Father Delanglez can do no more than merely suggest that the river identical with the Río del Espíritu Santo may be the Trinity river.

The second part of the study in which Father Delanglez acquaints the reader with the instruments of research employed in the writing of the essay is deserving of high praise. We find here an excellent bibliography (pp. 147-162) of manuscripts and of atlases, books, collections of maps, and periodicals. Truly impressive and serviceable is the list of maps (pp. 162-172). It is chronologically arranged and it contains 160 items, to each of which is appended a note indicating where reference to the map can be found in the text. Eight attractive plates reproduce as many pertinent maps, while a well-prepared index brings the volume to a close.

Although he differs with Father Delanglez with regard to his main conclusion, the present reviewer read the essay with the care which it undoubtedly deserves and which he hopes all teachers and students of American history will accord it.

Francis Borgia Steck

The Catholic University of America

The Age of Jackson. By Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1945. Pp. xiv, 575. $5.00.)

Neither a new biography of the seventh President, nor a full account of his administration, this book is both more and less than the title indicates. The lectures from which it developed were more accurately named, "A Reinterpretation of Jacksonian Democracy;" the character of the reinterpretation the author himself suggests when he says it "attempts to examine the politics in terms of the ideas."

The great significance of Jacksonian democracy, as Mr. Schlesinger sees it, lies in the use of governmental power to check and curb the rising forces of capitalistic finance, the "business community." That use, to his mind, was not accidental or exceptional but fundamental, and the result of a conscious social and economic philosophy. Such a reinterpretation implies several sharp revisions of the traditional accounts. It modifies, where it does not entirely reject, the theory of Jacksonian democracy as a product of the western frontier, and sees the eastern "radical" thinkers and labor leaders as the great shaping influences. It stresses the divergence of Jacksonian thinking from the traditional Jeffersonian mistrust of government, and from the use of that mistrust to bulwark laissez-faire economics and business interests. Moreover, it replaces the politicians with the theorists and literary men as leaders and guides of the movement.

These are important contributions to historical thinking, not only about Jackson, but about the history of American democracy itself. In the process of elaborating and exemplifying these interpretations, Mr. Schlesinger brings into the light — and often to the center of his stage — a number of men heretofore left in dim obscurity. He manages to achieve a great measure of success in integrating a large number of movements of thought and action, and in demonstrating, at the very least, that histories of Jacksonian and post-Jacksonian democracy must take account of the factors and patterns he suggests. But Mr. Schlesinger's concern is, it is evident, with more than a historical account or interpretation in itself. He is, frankly, striving for an interpretation which will make the American democratic tradition of immediate use. His sympathy with the "radical" Jacksonians, and with those he regards as their present-day successors, is obvious throughout.

The pedantic, and those opposed to the New Deal, will have objections to this partisanship, on their different grounds. The historical student, although recognizing the usefulness of such applications of historical knowledge, may well suggest some cautions. The principal difficulty with Mr. Schlesinger's practice is a certain narrowing of the view, justifiable in a monograph, perhaps, but a weakness in a full-scale interpretation. Even if one accepts his view of the importance of the eastern urban influence on the Jacksonian theory and practice, for instance, he may feel the western influences deserve fuller investigation. Mr. Schlesinger has some suggestions of real value, e.g., one of the typical western attitude toward banks and credit, but, in the main, the West and frontier are subordinated to the stress on eastern and urban theories and developments.

Similarly, what is possibly the author's greatest achievement, the study of the work of the writers, journalists, and economists, and its significance in political life, would be even more valuable were it balanced with an equally acute and full discussion of the "mere politicians" and their machines. Here, in fact, is one great opportunity for the applications and parallels Mr. Schlesinger obviously desires to make. Surely Jacksonian democracy is not the most recent instance of a strong and popular President resting not only on "radical" social thinkers, but also on party organization and the techniques and powers of the machines.

Such criticism, it may be, suggests that the essential purpose of the book is well accomplished, since it stimulates the reader to follow its approach and use its central ideas in other connections and other fields. Certainly, joined as it is to a thorough historical investigation, almost concealed by the remarkably skillful historical narrative, the courageous new interpretation makes for a work of major interest and importance.

GEORGE J. FLEMING, JR.

University of Detroit

The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee. Third Series, 1844-46. Edited by E. E. Rich. With an Introduction by W. Kaye Lamb. (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society; Toronto: Champlain Society. 1944. Pp. lxiii, 341, xi. $7.50.)

This volume, the seventh in the publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, is the third and final in the series of McLoughlin letters while that gentleman was superintendent of company affairs west of the Rocky Mountains, and it covers the years 1844-46. As in the two former volumes [noticed in the *Review,* XXIX (1943-4), 258-60, and XXXI (1945-6), 98-99], the contents of this one include an introduction by Dr. W. Kaye

Lamb, the letters proper, and two appendixes. Two contemporary sketch maps are also added, the index is quite adequate, and there is an important unnumbered page of *errata* following page 341.

The introduction in one respect is misleading, for one looks for a fuller treatment of McLoughlin's life. Such an attitude on the part of the reader, however, is not consistent with the objective of the editor of these volumes, Professor E. E. Rich, who correctly states in the preface that the "authoritative documents" for the last period of McLoughlin's life "lie outside the Hudson's Bay Company archives, and so outside the scope of this series of publications." Materials in abundance for the standard biography of the "Governor" of Old Oregon from 1825 to 1846 are provided by this series, but one does not find it in the introductions to these volumes and one should not expect to find it. To quote Professor Rich again: "(these records) throw more light on the career of McLoughlin as a servant of the Company." The volume under review must be judged, then, by the intent set forth by the editor.

As in the preceding volume in the series, the letters here are largely taken up with the murder of McLoughlin's son. Long passages reiterate what was already said many times before; and while they add little information, they abrade the irritation of the governor and committee to the point where McLoughlin's retirement from the service of the company is a relief to all concerned. Yet one must not be led to conclude that the McLoughlin letters in this volume deal exclusively with that subject; they also furnish priceless materials for a broader knowledge of this period in Oregon history. McLoughlin's comments on Ricord's proclamation to the people of Oregon, on the Shortless petition to the Congress of the United States, and on the address of the Canadian settlers on the Willamette to the American citizens of Oregon, are supplemented by the reproduction of pertinent documents in Appendix A. Besides, his letters provide us with his account of his relations with the Methodist Episcopal missionaries and with Dr. E. J. White, sub-Indian agent of the American federal government, as well as with much local information on affairs at Fort Vancouver and the other settlements nearby. These matters also are supplemented in Appendix A.

The formation of a provisional government and McLoughlin's reasons for yielding "to the wishes of a respectable part of the people in this Country, of British and American origin," is noticed at length; long passages from these letters were transcribed for the information of the Earl of Aberdeen and later of Lord Palmerston. Intelligence of the opening of settlements by the Americans north of the Columbia and on Puget Sound was duly transmitted to the London foreign office. What effect such information had on the conclusion of the boundary treaty of June 15, 1846, is not discussed. Many pages in these letters concern Mc-

Loughlin's claim at the falls of the Willamette and his controversy with the Reverend A. F. Waller over the title to this site. McLoughlin's position was very awkward, indeed, for he had originally taken this claim in his own name for the company and only purchased the property from his employers when it became quite manifest that they could not hold a claim in the teeth of the opposition of American settlers to a "foreign monopoly." McLoughlin, furthermore, had refused to carry out Simpson's instructions in this matter (p. 156 and note 2), at a considerable cost to himself subsequently in money and peace of mind. Dr. Lamb has treated these disputatious points with great credit to himself, and one can hardly differ from his final conclusion that McLoughlin became, in his later years, "a difficult and eventually an impossible subordinate."

No mention is made by name of any of the Jesuits who arrived in Oregon with DeSmet in July, 1844, although Father John Nobili lived all the following winter at Fort Vancouver. Father Francis Norbert Blanchet is highly praised for his labors among the settlers and Indians, and Simpson is chided by Douglas for having prevented the father's passage to Oregon from Montreal in 1836 and 1837. More Catholic missionaries from Canada would strengthen the British party west of the mountains (1844-1845). The departure of the Lees and many of their colleagues is commented on by Douglas in these words: "We lost some good customers by the winding up of the Methodist Mission, and we hope the Jesuits will richly supply the blank." A critical note on a "Father Jenkins of their Order residing in London" might have illuminated us in this matter. The opening of a school by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur is also noticed favorably. Appendix B, a biographical supplement, is up to the high calibre of this section in previous volumes and merits much praise for the compiler, Miss Alice M. Johnson, who also prepared the volume for the press.

WILLIAM L. DAVIS

Gonzaga University

The Rise of the Jewish Community of New York, 1654-1860 By HYMAN B. GRINSTEIN. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1945. Pp. xiii, 645. $3.00.)

Dr. Grinstein's work is the story of the internal development of a Jewish community. His emphasis is on the nineteenth century largely because, as he indicates in the preface, of the scarcity of sources for the earlier period. The amount of primary material such as minute books is large, and Catholics who have attempted to do research in the history of our older parishes cannot but feel a certain envy at the wealth of sources to which the author has had access.

The book should be of interest to all Americans, and Catholics in particular cannot help but be struck at the resemblance between ourselves and our Jewish brethren. A reading of it might well open the eyes of a bigot or even the professional anti-semite. The prejudiced or ignorant mind generalizes easily and is inclined to lump all Jews together. "The Jews do this" or "the Catholics act thus" may invoke credence in the childish or the narrow-minded, and regret it as we do, there are many persons of both types still at large in our nation.

The reader will realize that there have been widely divergent opinions and divisions among the Jews, as there have been among Catholics. Nationality was, of course, a source of difference. The groups who were here some time tended to look with contempt on their more recently arrived co-religionists. The ignorance and poverty of the newcomers, not to mention their language difficulties, aroused disgust among the "better" elements. Just as the Yankee or Maryland Catholic dreaded the Catholic Irish and German immigrant so did the older Jews scorn the later arrivals.

Jews and Catholics were alike in their opposition to godless education and both made financial sacrifices to educate the young. They were alike in philanthropic endeavor, building hospitals and orphanages and taking care of those in need. Attempts to "missionize" both the Catholic and the Jew were numerous in the nineteenth century. Inter-marriage with outsiders brought apostasy in many cases and both groups, therefore, frowned on such marriages. Many of both religions found their faith a bar to acceptance in society and, shocking as the fact is this barrier still exists in some circles and in some parts of the country. As some cynic has said, "All men are created equal — except Negro, Catholic, Jew and other obnoxious groups." Some Jews, and some Catholics, abandoned the faith of their fathers rather than undergo social ostracism.

Among the better-known Jews of the period are Mordecai Noah, Haym Salomon, Emanuel Hart, Dr. Morris Raphall, and Dr. L. M. Peixotto. Raphall was the first Jewish clergyman to open Congress with prayer and was, perhaps, the most prominent Jew in New York in the late fifties and the sixties. His lecture on the differences between the sections was given prominence by the newspapers and led to a response by the young Heilprin. Peixotto's discourse on the education of poor children is a clear exposition by the former editor of the *Medical and Physical Journal*. Dr. Grinstein's book has an exhaustive bibliography and an adequate index.

Basil L. Lee

St. Augustine's High School
Brooklyn

North Atlantic Triangle. The Interplay of Canada, the United States and Great Britain. By JOHN BARTLETT BREBNER. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1945. Pp. xx, 385. $4.00.)

This is the last in a series of some twenty-five volumes on the relations between the United States and Canada, published under the general editorship of Professor James T. Shotwell by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Earlier volumes in the series have dealt with particular aspects of this general problem, or they have dealt with the general problem over comparatively short periods of time, when relations between the two countries were of more than ordinary importance. The history of Great Britain, or at least of British interests and activities in America, has necessarily been included in many of these studies. During the greater part of the period under review Canada has been a British dependency; and even now, although the Dominion has secured complete independence, in both internal and external affairs, her continued membership in the Commonwealth of Nations makes it impossible to study the relations between the two North American peoples without large reference to the older community from which both have sprung.

With the data provided by these earlier studies before him, and with his own wide and exact knowledge to supplement and interpret the work of his fellow contributors, Professor Brebner has undertaken to survey the whole history of this complex relationship from the first settlements in America to the present association of three independent communities in the greatest task that has ever fallen to any of them. Probably no one could have been found who is better qualified to undertake such a survey. It is impossible in closing this book to dissent from Professor Shotwell's description of him as "a master of the subject." And it is no trifling subject that he has mastered.

His purpose, as stated in the preface, has been to explain "the various kinds of things which the peoples of the two countries did in common, or in complementary fashion, or in competition." That is a large order. It includes most things, good, bad, and indifferent, that men have done at other times and in other places; and it includes, too, a great many things, again not always very admirable things, of which men had little or no previous experience. On most of these things — and their number and variety are bewildering — Professor Brebner has assembled an astonishing amount of detailed information; and his material is presented in a manner so admirably suited to the subject that the book is, apart from its intrinsic importance, a delight to read.

It is a unique record. Nowhere else on earth have men accomplished a similar task by similar methods. The men and women who achieved it had, of course, some evident advantages. They were relatively free from external intervention or from any form of internal opposition, except that offered by nature herself. They had a continent of all but inexhaustible riches to exploit with no impassable political boundaries to confine their activities. Most of them had many things in common. They spoke the same language. They shared the same political, social, and cultural traditions. Even the French-Canadians, during the greater part of the history here related, were not so consciously segregated from the other peoples of America as they have become in the past generation or so. These things did not eliminate rivalry. They did not prevent the development of separate nationalisms, sometimes fiercely antagonistic to one another. But they did create conditions for co-operation, on the political and on the economic level, more favorable than those existing in any other part of the world. What is remarkable and original is the common sense manner in which the people of the two countries have made use of these favoring conditions to create what the author has called "the unique standard and pattern of North American living," and to fashion an informal but effective type of international machinery for solving the innumerable problems that must arise between them.

That development has depended at all times upon the establishment and maintenance of good relations between the United States and Great Britain. Obstacles to an Anglo-American understanding have been numerous and formidable. The interpretation placed on "vital national interests" by men of limited vision on both sides has more than once brought the two nations to the brink of open rupture. But in the end common sense has always prevailed, not infrequently, as the author shows, through the willingness of realistic Canadian statesmen to sacrifice some immediate and particular interest for the attainment of the larger and more important object. For many this will be the most interesting section of the book. The "triangle" has taken form and substance mainly in the past sixty years, when economic nationalism and fierce trade rivalry might easily have given a very different character to the history of these three peoples. As presented here in the three or four luminous chapters with which the volume ends, it is an impressive record of what can be accomplished by peoples who are prepared to recognise and respect the freedom of others, to forget past animosities, and to set their course with determination on the ways of peace.

The "triangle" has been built on no preconceived pattern. There has been throughout a notable absence of the kind of legal restraints generally favoured by European statesmen as the basis of international agreements. But, as Professor Shotwell observes, "the real test of an institution is whether it works or not." And the value of the method illustrated by the "triangle" is that it works. It is the outstanding example in the modern world of "a field where international obligation and domestic policy have been welded towards a common purpose."

If the record of one successful achievement can be of any assistance in creating the conditions for international order, this may be a very significant book. In any event, it is a book which no serious student of the history of the English-speaking world can afford to neglect. The emphasis is, perhaps, a little too strong on the purely material achievement. Subject to correction it may be suggested that the Christian churches in America have contributed rather more than here appears to the understanding and accord that now prevails. And on a point of terminology a protest must be entered. The term "Britoness" is an ugly and meaningless word. Its spelling suggests the female of the species. It is used to mean the quality of being British. In no case ought it to appear in such a book as this.

DONALD J. MCDOUGALL

University of Toronto

Big Business in a Democracy. By JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS. (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons. 1945. Pp. 291. $2.75.)

There is something about a fairy tale which has always succeeded in intriguing the imagination. The followers of Aesop are legion. For this reason no human institution goes long on the way of development without attaching to itself a fair amount of folk-lore and legend. This is true even of the institution called "Big Business." The National Association of Manufacturers has been developing this legend for years, and now along comes an historian of note to add to the apocrypha.

The latest effort of James Truslow Adams concerns American big business and its pride and joy, General Motors. The reviewer uses the word "effort," because it must have taken a great deal of effort for this egg to hatch. The word "contribution" is avoided because the book contributes nothing either to history or social science. It took Adams 276 pages to develop this thesis: big business is peculiarly a product of the American environment. It is as much a part of our way of life as the cowboy and the Indian. To big business we must attribute all our social, economic, and political virtues, and we shall maintain our international prestige and power only in so far as we permit big business its normal amount of growth. Admittedly, the rise of big business was accompanied by certain hardships and excesses which were no help to the poor and the property-less, but these aspects were not an essential part of our economic history, and the end result of the historical process more than rendered worthwhile the temporary suffering of such evils. Let us, therefore, take big business to our hearts and realize that the recent attempts to curtail its power strike a blow at American democracy itself.

The title, *Big Business in a Democracy,* is a misnomer. Beyond singing its praises and justifying its existence, nowhere does the author aspire to the more difficult task of determining its role and function in our democracy. It is an apologetic which seeks to defend the present status of big business, while it gives expression to the hope that the same status will remain unchanged. The book will please "the angels of light," but it will leave the worker, the farmer, and the small business man unmoved.

In the six or seven months since this volume appeared, a number of Catholic reviewers have shown themselves to be unsympathetic to Mr. Adams' point of view, his interpretation of history, and to his social philosophy. This reviewer has no intention of rehashing criticism previously made. What he wishes to do is to quote Mr. Adams against Mr. Adams. After reading *Big Business in a Democracy,* the reviewer felt a strong urge to go back to the *Epic of America,* and he found in the older work (1931) statements that violently contrasted with present paeans of praise which Adams heaps upon big business. Here is a sample: "One does not have to be either a communist or a socialist to recognize the enormous possibilities for evil *inherent* (italics the reviewer's) in our system, and the need for control if we are to stave off the different evils of socialism and communism" (p. 316). Here is another significant interpretation of history from the *Epic of America:* "As we look back at the issues for which they (workingmen) fought at various times in the second half of the 19th century, we see that for the most part they were largely conservative. The terror aroused among the larger capitalists and by them transmitted to the smaller business men seems difficult to understand if it was genuine. What the larger capitalists feared, in fact, was the loss of one iota of his steadily increasing control over government and the means of piling up colossal wealth. The contest was not at all between capitalists and socialists or communists, but between classes both of whom were firmly committed to a belief in capitalism. It was between the big men and the little men, the grasper after excessive wealth and power and the man who demanded merely the opportunity to make his living and live his life" (pp. 320-321).

The reviewer could repeat dozens of quotations to illustrate how the Adams of 1931 has been disowned by the Adams of 1945. Certainly, the man who now looks upon General Motors as our "fairy god-father" is not the same one who called United States Steel an "economic monster." Adams no longer considers the leader of business and its financiers to be as ruthless "as any pirate who ever trod a bloody quarterdeck." What explains the change? Certainly, the *Epic* was not a product of Adams' youth and the 1945 "classic" the product of a sagacious maturity. Perhaps, he does not like the reality of things which he previously hoped for.

The reviewer leaves the ultimate explanation to Mr. Adams in his examination of conscience.

George A. Kelly

St. Monica's Rectory
New York City

IBERO-AMERICAN HISTORY

Las leyes de Indias y el derecho eclesiástico en la América Española e Islas Filipinas. By Rafael Gómez Hoyos. [Tesis para el grado de Doctor en Derecho Canónico presentada a la Pontificia Universidad Gregoriana.] (Medellín, Columbia: Ediciones Universidad Católica Bolivariana. 1945. Pp. 255.)

The attention of the readers of the *Catholic Historical Review* should be called to this recent study. It is not for the reviewer to judge the book from the point of view of canon law, for the field is one in which he has no competence. But from the point of view of an historian who is faced with the problem of understanding the relations between Church and State in colonial Spanish America — perhaps the most basic problem that the historian faces — this thesis for the degree of doctor of canon law, prepared by a Colombian student at the Gregorian University, will be welcomed with open arms.

In three separate parts the author covers a wide range of subjects and handles them with exceeding competence. In the first he deals with the canonical bases for the *Leyes de Indias,* and speaks particularly of the first pontifical concessions to the Castilian crown, the royal vicariate, and the ecclesiastical laws in the Spanish legal code for the new world. The second part of the book concerns the evangelization of Spanish America and the foundation of the Church. These topics are developed in seven chapters under the following titles: "The conquest," "Freedom in conversion," "Laws against paganism," "Freedom and the good treatment of the Indians as a means of conversion," "Political institutions charged with protecting conversion," "The encomienda system in its religious aspect," and "Political and social formation of the Indian to dispose him toward conversion." The third and last part is devoted to the organization of the Church, i.e., the parishes, the dioceses, education, and the defense of the faith.

In his conclusion (pp. 253 ff.), with reference to the religious spirit of the *Leyes de Indias,* the author observes that "the Castilian monarchs complied with their mission." The principal end of the *Leyes de Indias,* he says, was "without any dispute, the conversion of the Indians." In the wars against the natives, theological-juridical principles were applied strictly, with the result that the Spanish conquest of America may be taken as a model of its kind. The freedom of the Indian to embrace or reject the faith was respected, but whether he liked it or not he was obliged to hear the divine word. Military force was used only to protect the missionaries, never to secure converts. The doctrines of church law were followed in the measures taken against paganism. The freedom of the Indian, his possession of land, and his Christian marriage with the invader are other consequences of Catholic doctrine. It is thus possible to conclude that the laws on the conversion of the Indians were "a legislation of theologians." Indeed, no colonization, in the words of Ricard as quoted by Father Gómez Hoyos, has been more theological than the Spanish.

Although it is true, as the author points out, that canonical-dogmatic principles were applied "without restrictions" in the Spanish colonies, discipline was not always above reproach. Because of the "excessive protection" accorded the Church in America, canon law, he says, took on a "secular color." This led to abuses against the liberty of the Church, and to the impossibility, therefore, of full religious development along certain lines. In some ways, and contrary to the spirit of the papal concessions, the Church became the instrument of the legal architects of Spanish absolutism. The position of the Spanish American Church vis-à-vis the Spanish throne posed serious problems at the time of the political emancipation of the Spanish-American republics. At that time the liberal leaders of the independence movement zealously held on to whatever rights of patronage had been formerly exercised by Spain. But though the latter used them on the whole for the benefit of religion, the new republics looked upon patronage as a means to control the Church and thus limit her natural ambit of action. Hence the conflicts which arose in the nineteenth century. Today the Church in Spanish America is gradually freeing herself from the domination of the State, and ". . . in this same flowering of the Catholic idea in the Spanish-American countries," Father Gómez Hoyos concludes, "we must recognize the natural fruit of the genial work which, despite human imperfections, Catholic Spain achieved in the New World."

The author has used reference citations abundantly and the list of printed materials is extensive. He has not, however, consulted the works of Zavala, García Gutiérrez, Parry, and Hanke, all of which are in many ways important. Part of the book is based on manuscript sources in the archives of the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide and of the Spanish embassy to the Vatican. It is conceivable that additional sources may have been uncovered in the archives of Madrid, Seville, and Simancas, but the thesis as it stands will long be used as a standard account of one of the most difficult and complex aspects of Spanish colonization in the new world.

MANOEL S. CARDOZO

The Catholic University of America

A ordem franciscana no Brasil. By Basílio Röwer, O.F.M. (Petrópolis: Editora Vozes Ltda. 1942. Pp. 158.)

Os franciscanos no sul do Brasil durante o século XVIII e a contribuição franciscana na formação religiosa da capitania das Minas Gerais. By Basílio Röwer, O.F.M. (Petrópolis: Editora Vozes Ltda. 1944. Pp. 77.)

Frei Basílio is recognized as the outstanding historian of the Franciscan Order in Brazil today, and these two studies from his pen, which implement in some way his more comprehensive work on the Province of the Immaculate Conception, *Páginas de história franciscana no Brasil* (Petrópolis, 1941), will be received as important contributions for the history of the Franciscans in South America.

It is still early to expect a more or less definitive work on the varied activities of the Franciscans in Brazil; and there is nothing in the historiography of the order that can be compared with Father Serafim Leite's monumental history of the Jesuits, now in its fifth volume. As Frei Basílio confesses, the Franciscans in the past have not devoted themselves to any great extent to historical studies, the result being that their achievements, which are more important than most people imagine, have not received the attention they abundantly deserve. A beginning has been made by Frei Basílio in these and other books, all of which have been brought out, because the field is still relatively unexplored, at the cost of a good deal of effort. His has been the job of working in the incomplete and scattered archives of the several Franciscan convents, and of overcoming numerous handicaps that always beset the path of any scholar in a new field. This does not mean that a Franciscan bibliography in Brazil does not exist. Yet outside of Jaboatão in the eighteenth century, and a few others, most of whom, like Jaboatão himself, wrote baroquely and always in a pious vein, one will look fruitlessly for the type of scholarship that Frei Basílio represents.

The first book under review gives a summary of the history of the Franciscan Order in Brazil from the earliest times to our own days, and in a special section, the biographies of a number of friars noted for their sanctity. The author's account of the present progress of the order is particularly welcome; and what has been achieved will come as a surprise to those who know that the work of the Franciscans, like that of the other religious orders in Brazil, was severely curtailed during the Second Empire through the government's policy of prohibiting the admission of novices. In 1941, the Franciscans in Brazil numbered 1,041, among whom were five bishops and three administrators apostolic; but the important thing to remember is that the flourishing state of the order today has been the work only of the past fifty years, and in a real sense of the

German Franciscans who were called upon by the Holy See at the end of the last century to restore the two Brazilian provinces.

As its title indicates, the second book deals with the Franciscans in southern Brazil and in Minas Gerais. The work is still tentative, and much remains to be done; but it will have the virtue of pointing the way to future historians. Moreover, it will give us a picture, even though it may not be sharply outlined, of another significant aspect of Franciscan activity in a part of Brazil that was really settled only in the eighteenth century.

It is hardly within the province of this reviewer to submit the books in question to a searching, critical appraisal because the field of Franciscan history is a specialized one which requires the attention of someone trained in it. But they are written with a regard for sources, and reference citations are included. Frei Basílio has not gone into the story of the project of 1776 for a university in Rio conducted by the Franciscans. The author might well enlighten us on this subject in a future book. The reviewer has seen the charter given by the Portuguese government to the Franciscans authorizing them to establish an institution of higher learning in Rio, but the history of these negotiations, which are important in the history of Brazilian education, has not yet been written.

MANOEL S. CARDOZO

The Catholic University of America

A Padre Views South America. By PETER MASTEN DUNNE, S.J., Chairman, Department of History, University of San Francisco. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1945. Pp. xiii, 290. $2.50.)

Any volume from a Catholic source on South America is likely to be something of an asset in the light of the almost complete dearth of material on the subject. We have devoted a number of years to more or less vocal protestations regarding our correligionists to the south of us but we have done precious little to swell the literature on Hispanic America that will give the reader a hint of the Catholic contribution to the civilization of those lands. Father Dunne of the University of San Francisco has done a job that needed to be done. It is not one of the most profound books written on Hispanic America nor does it pretend to be an exhaustive treatise on the subject. It does give a rapid fire impression of things and people with sufficient emphasis on the religious to make it a useful and handy volume for Catholic readers and for others interested in that elusive thing called "the Catholic viewpoint."

The volume is a mixture of travelogue and brief sketch of the historical and social background of the nations. It follows the chronology of travel, from Argentina right around the circle to end at the northern tip. Some Latin Americans will find that Father Dunne has been too severe on their religious life and has weighed it to find it singularly lacking. It must be confessed that the author has said things in fairly plain language. He discovers, and this every Catholic discovers sooner or later, that very few men go to Mass, that less make their Easter duty, and that there is a strange absence of religiosity among the male population. Brazil apparently struck Father Dunne strongly in this way. He is, of course, right. On the other hand there is the balance of a Church that has to operate under the most inconceivably trying conditions, with a tiny personnel and physical and natural conditions of the most difficult kind.

Not all of the emphases that the author places on things does the reviewer find personally acceptable. Not all of his conclusions strike me as entirely warranted. I think for one thing he underestimates the role of religion as the bond of national unity. Father Dunne rather tends to write this off as being a very serious consideration (p. 274). Obviously it is not the only thing, but in nations like Mexico, to take but one example, what other element of unity is there? There can be no comparison with the United States or England where political tradition, constitutional practice and the like have constituted in themselves a source of unified strength. In many of the Hispanic countries, with divergent races, clashing languages, and difficult communications the common Catholic faith is just about the only element that holds them together at all. It may be sentimental and sometimes poorly practiced but it is nevertheless a very fundamental part of the pattern of national experience.

Another point on which the reviewer is inclined to think Father Dunne is far too optimistic is his analysis here and there in the book of the political scene, and especially of the Good Neighbor policy and the Argentine question. Out in San Francisco, Father Dunne and the reviewer had our discussions on this point. I am much more inclined to consider many of the achievements of the Good Neighbor policy as grossly overrated. I believe the work of former Secretary Hull is equally overrated. The Argentine question alone shows what pig-headedness, violent temper, and plain stubbornness will do when transferred to the field of international relations. We have not gone ahead in late years; on the contrary, we have positively lost ground. We are at the crucial point now as the latest emanations from the Department of State amply demonstrate, for we are playing once more with the idea of intervention. And the tragic thing is that we want to get hardboiled again and cover it up with the defense of human rights. Yesterday it was the American dollar; today it is people who are oppressed wherever they may be found. The outlook under the new Braden doctrine may well be intervention everywhere to bring about the enjoyment of liberty and democracy. But it may be liberty and democracy according to the political party that will follow the American party line. This is not testimony to the effectiveness or the brilliance of the Good Neighbor policy. It might be better to have a little more healthy scepticism in appraising the deeds and achievements of the past twenty or more years.

Father Dunne's book is readable. It is not that dull, bibliographical-ridden aridity with which we are too frequently regaled in the name of scholarship. It lets itself be read, as the Spanish have it. Sometimes it is superficial, at other times extremely acute. He has done a good job, a necessary job, and he has the supreme virtue of speaking out honestly. He does not pull punches or see everything through rosy spectacles as too many of our professional Good Neighbor promotors do. Nor does he find all Hispanic America a cesspool of iniquity and perversity as does another and not very admirable school. Catholic literature in English on Hispanic America will be better off for the publication of this volume.

RICHARD PATTEE

National Catholic Welfare Conference

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The REVIEW is pleased to present with the opening of Volume XXXII three new advisory editors: William L. Davis, S.J., Leo L. Rummel, O.Praem., and Leo F. Stock. Father Davis is professor of American history in Gonzaga University, Spokane. He completed his undergraduate and priestly training at Mount Saint Michael's Scholasticate, Spokane, and Weston College in Massachusetts. His graduate work was done at the University of California, where he studied under Herbert E. Bolton, James Westfall Thompson, Frederick C. Palm, and others. His doctoral dissertation was entitled, "Mission St. Anne among the Cayuses, 1847-1848." Father Davis has contributed several articles to the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly,* and he hopes to begin work before long on a critical biography of the great missionary, Pierre DeSmet, S.J. Father Rummel is at present the prior of St. Augustine's Priory at Madison, Wisconsin. He did his undergraduate work at St. Norbert College and pursued graduate courses at Columbia and the University of Chicago; the major part of his graduate training was received at the University of Wisconsin, from which he holds both the master's and doctor's degrees. His doctoral dissertation, for which he did research in Paris, was, "The Religious Associations in France." The third new advisory editor needs little introduction to our readers. From 1921-1929 Dr. Stock was an associate editor of the REVIEW, and from 1929-1939 he was co-editor. His long service in behalf of American historical scholarship has enriched printed source collections with two important series of which he has been the editor, namely, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America,* done for the Carnegie Institution of Washington, with which he has been associated for so many years, and the two-volume series of *Documents* on American-Papal relations, which he has edited for the American Catholic Historical Association. It is a real pleasure to welcome Dr. Stock back to the REVIEW as it is a pleasure too, to have associated with us for the first time Fathers Davis and Rummel.

Of the many saintly missionaries who worked among the Indians of the Great Lakes region during the nineteenth century two names are preeminent, those of Bishop Frederick Baraga and of Father Franz Pierz. Both worked first in the lower Michigan peninsula before transferring their efforts to the more northern missions. The account of their travels and labors are quite dramatic and at times heroic. Those interested in these men will be pleased to learn that Mr. Joseph Gregorich of Chicago, who has been collecting material on the life of Bishop Baraga, plans also to write a biography of Father Pierz. Although Pierz was past his prime when he came to this new mission field, he spent an additional quarter of a century in very active apostolic labors before returning to Vienna to die.

In ecclesiastical history of the Spanish regime in Louisiana and the Floridas occur the names of a band of Irish missionaries whose accomplishments deserve some special account. Irish missionaries were active in all parts of the world at that time and this particular group formed a very large part of the clergy of this new-world diocese. Some account of them has been given by Michael J. Curley, C.SS.R., in his *Church and State in the Spanish Floridas, 1783-1822* (Washington, 1940). These Irish priests were intended to fulfill a twofold task, that of taking care of the English-speaking Catholics who were immigrating into Louisiana and of supplying needed missionaries in the vast Spanish mission-field. Unless warned, the researcher among the old church records of Louisiana will be amazed to find such names as Patricio Walsh, Diego Maxwell, Tomaso Hassett, Jorge Murphy, Juan Brady, Francisco Lennan, and Diego Coleman, among others. Most of them were trained at the Royal Irish College at Salamanca.

One of the most dramatic disturbances over trusteeism in the history of the Catholic Church in the United States took place in New Orleans in the 1840's. Following the death of Abbé Aloysius Moni the trustees objected to the successor appointed by Bishop Anthony Blanc. The struggle, complete with interdicts and legal action, continued for several years and echoes of it reached even to the Supreme Court of the United States. In the discussion Abbé Napoleon J. Perché, later Archbishop of New Orleans, played an important part through the newspaper he established for that purpose, *La Propagateur Catholique*. Students of Louisiana Catholic history will be pleased to learn that the early volumes of this periodical have been acquired by the library of the University of Notre Dame.

The National Archives in Washington will again conduct its summer course in archival administration which was so successfully inaugurated in June, 1945. The dates for the coming session are June 17-July 6, 1946, and tentative registration must be completed by May 15. The course will be limited to a total of sixteen students with preference given to persons outside the city of Washington. Information on the course can be secured by writing to Dean Ernst Posner, 1901 F Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. During the session of 1945, five or six students were enrolled from Catholic institutions and they expressed real satisfaction with the results of their brief stay at the National Archives. The fee for the course is $40.00.

Now that World War II is over and the public attention is being drawn to matters of reconversion and peace, we have an obligation to see that Catholic war records and correspondence which have ceased to hold major interest or belong to offices that are being discontinued, are not destroyed. During the war when interest in these matters was very great and when such office records were very much alive effort to have such material placed in repositories were not successful. The opportune moment for securing such material for posterity comes when contemporary interest wanes and there is an urge to destroy or throw away. In this connection the efforts of the Archives of the University of Notre Dame to collect material on American Catholic lay war heroes should bear some fruit if the holders of these records will take the trouble to send this material to that or to other repositories of Catholic records.

The Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, has recently acquired the ecclesiastical court records (1653-1681) of the Diocese of Zebu, Philippine Islands.

Over 1,750 letters written to Thurlow Weed have recently been given by members of the family to the University of Rochester. The gift includes twenty volumes of letters, twelve volumes of early American newspapers, several volumes of scrapbooks, pamphlets, and books relating to Weed's career with about 1,300 items of financial records and miscellaneous manuscripts. Students concerned with the life of Archbishop Hughes of New York will be interested in this donation as Weed and Hughes were closely associated during the Civil War in their trip to Europe in 1863 at the request of President Lincoln and the Department of State.

The November, 1945, issue of *Social Justice Review* commended the action of the officers of the Knights of St. George in establishing a historical room in their headquarters in Pittsburgh. It is intended that this room should become the depository of minute books, original charters, records, old badges, banners, and photographs of individuals and groups of members. Such an effort may very well lead to the preservation of much worthwhile historical material from the records of such mutual insurance companies. The library and archives of the Catholic Central Verein in St. Louis is an example of the value that such collections can attain for the historian.

The Green County Historical Society at Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, has published three volumes of documents entitled the *Horn Papers,* edited by W. F. Horn. The documents cover the early westward movement on the Monongahela and Upper Ohio rivers for the years 1763-1795. The set sells for $30.

With the retirement of Dr. Leo F. Stock from the Carnegie Institution, its Division of Historical Research, as conceived and directed by Professor McLaughlin and Dr. Jameson, is practically abolished. The work of completing the *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris* is being continued by Dr. John J. Meng under the direction of Dr. Waldo Leland; Dr. George Sarton's volumes concerned with the history of science will probably be carried forward; and the historical portion of the researches in anthropology, notably the history of the Maya area, will be completed by Dr. Scholes, Dr. Chamberlain, and others. Otherwise the Institution's program at present does not include further projects in the social sciences; henceforth the emphasis will be placed on problems of the physical sciences. Dr. Stock is working independently on the sixth volume of his series of *Proceedings and Debates of British Parliaments respecting North America,* and hopes to complete in some fashion the record to 1783. These volumes will be printed by the Institution in the same style as the five volumes which have been issued. In its hey-day, under Dr. Jameson, the Division placed the historical profession under grateful obligation, not only for the individual assistance and direction given to students and scholars, but particularly for its printed output which consisted of numerous *Guides* to American materials in domestic and foreign archives and several series of documents which have been widely used.

The Bruce Publishing Company of Milwaukee announced in January the grant of four fellowships to encourage lay Catholic writers, three in fiction and one in the field of biography. The fellowships will pay $1,200 in twelve monthly installments. They will be granted on the basis of sample chapters and a complete synopsis of the work underway, with the understanding that the finished manuscript will be in the publisher's hands one year following the grant of the fellowship. Readers of the REVIEW will be interested particularly in the requirements for the fellowship in biography. "In a biography the publisher wants an objective recreation of an important and intrinsically interesting person written in a readable style and reflecting the times and cirmcumstances in which the subject lived. The biography should be based on a careful study of as many of the best sources as possible." Application for information on these grants should be made to the Bruce Author Fellowships, 540 N. Milwaukee Street, Milwaukee 1.

The Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship of the American Historical Association, established in December, 1945, and carrying a cash value of $1,000 for the best original manuscript, either completed or in progress, has been announced by the Association. The subject matter of the manuscript may be on any phase of the history of the United States, Latin America, or Canada from the sixteenth century to the present time. The main purpose of the fellowship is to give assistance to competent scholars. Manuscripts intended to compete for the present year must be in by September 1, 1946, and be addressed to the chairman of the committee, Professor Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4.

American scholars are invited to submit manuscripts for a contest organized by the Bolivarian Society of Venezuela on the subject, "El ideal panamericano del Libertador, su desarrollo, evolución e influencia." Each entry should be no less than five hundred pages typed with double space, and should be in the hands of the judges (Sociedad Bolivariana de Venezuela, Cují a Salvador de León 6, Caracas) by October 12, 1946. The author of the winning manuscript will receive a cash award of 3,000 *bolívares.*

The Polish-American Historical Commission of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America is doing a real service in bringing out hidden phases of Polish-American Catholic history through the medium of its journal, *Polish-American Studies,* the second volume of which has now been completed. It is edited by Constantine Symonolewicz and has for its associate editor, Father Joseph Swastek of St. Mary's College, Orchard Lake, Michigan.

Two series of English translations of the church fathers have been announced. One, edited by Joannes Quasten and Joseph Plumpe of the School of Sacred Sciences in the Catholic University of America, will be published by the Newman Book Shop, Westminster, Maryland. The other will be published by Ludwig Schopp of the Cosmopolitan Science and Art Service Co., Inc., New York.

The first number of a promising periodical, *Folia: Studies in the Christian Perpetuation of the Classics,* was published in January by the Catholic Classical Association of Greater New York. Dedicated to Pope Leo the Great, it "makes its field of investigation the search for and the recognition of the heavy imprint of linguistic, philosophic, religious, and artistic influence of Classical Antiquity on the writings, liturgy, and nonliterary monuments of Christian Europe." The articles are listed in our Periodical Literature. The notes are placed at the end of each article. Sister Mary Liguori, R.D.C., of Good Counsel College is the editor. There are several associate editors. There is no indication of how often the new periodical will appear or whether it is available to subscribers.

A leaflet indicates that applicants for membership should write to: Miss Mary Carroll, Chairman of the Membership Committee, 3209 Park Avenue, Bronx 56, New York.

A group of some thirty theologians gathered at the Paulist Motherhouse in New York, on January 27 to lay the preliminary basis for the formation of a national Catholic theological society. At a meeting in New York scheduled for the end of the current academic year more permanent plans will be worked out. Francis J. Connell, C.SS.R., associate professor of moral theology in the Catholic University of America, was chosen as temporary chairman of the group.

The Chicago Historical Society has begun the publication of an illustrated quarterly entitled *Chicago History*.

Edward F. Dowling, S.J., contributes a very interesting article to the January issue of *Inland Seas,* entitled: *"The Vanishing Fleets."* He tells the story of the "tall masts and the gayly colored stacks" that were once the great package freighters of our inland lakes.

Father W. E. Shiels, S.J., professor of Latin-American history at the University of Detroit, will exchange posts this summer with Father Peter M. Dunne, S.J., of the University of San Francisco.

A large commemorative volume of essays has been published by the Berkeley University of California. The names of some of the contributors are familiar to our readers: W. E. Shiels, S.J., P. M. Dunne, S.J., John J. Bannon, S.J.

Professor Jerome G. Kerwin succeeded William L. Hutchinson on October 1, 1945, as executive secretary of the Charles R. Walgreen Foundation for the Study of American Institutions at the University of Chicago.

Thomas E. Downey, former historiographer of the Diocese of St. Augustine, has joined the history staff of the University of Notre Dame and will give courses in Latin American history. Dr. Downey received his Ph.D. degree some years ago from the University of California.

The first edition of the Reverend W. N. Bischoff's *The Jesuits in Old Oregon* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1945) has been sold out. A second edition, with minor corrections and the addition of selected photographs, is contemplated. Father Bischoff is a theological student at Alma College, Alma, California; he is a candidate for the doctoral degree in history at Layola University, Chicago.

At a recent meeting of the Philological Society of The Catholic University of America, Professor Friedrich Engel-Janosi read a paper on "Some Aspects of the Problem of Historical Understanding."

Dr. Alexander Marchant, now Publications Officer of the United States Embassy in Rio de Janeiro, has recently been elected to the board of editors of the *Hispanic American Historical Review.*

The Second International Congress of Archive Custodians, Librarians, and Museum Curators of the Caribbean area will be held at Guatemala City on April 7-14, 1947.

The first issue of *Afroamérica* (Nos. 1 and 2, January and July, 1945), the journal of the newly organized International Institute of Afroamerican Studies of Mexico City, has just appeared. Under the presidency of Dr. Fernando Ortiz of Cuba, the Institute, which maintains its headquarters at the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Moneda 13, México, D. F., plans to further the study of all aspects of Negro culture and aculturation in the New World. Among the members of the Institute are Monsignor John M. Cooper, of The Catholic University of America, and Mr. Richard Pattee, of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

The Reverend Pedro Leturia, S.J., of the Gregorian University, is preparing an exhaustive study on the celebrated encyclical of Pope Leo XII which was issued in support of Spain at the time of the Spanish-American wars of independence. Father Leturia has already written on the same subject in *Historisches Jahrbuch,* 46 (1926), 233-332, "Die Amerika Encyklika Leos XII von 24 September, 1824: Ihre Geschichte, ihr Text, ihre Folgen."

Father Manuel Aguirre Elorriaga, S.J., professor of church history at the Interdiocesan Seminary of Caracas, Venezuela, is the author of *El Abate de Pradt en la emancipación hispanoamericana (1800-1830),* published in 1941 by the Gregorian University as a doctoral dissertation. The work is on the whole a solid piece of research, and an admirable introduction to the beginnings of liberalism in Spanish America.

The Department of the Treasury and of Public Credit of Mexico is to be congratulated on the publication of its monumental series of studies on religious architecture in Mexico. The first two volumes, *Catálogo de construcciones religiosas del Estado de Hidalgo,* appeared in 1940 and 1942 under the direction of Luis Azcue y Mancera, Manuel Toussaint, and Justino Fernández. Last year the Department published two more, *Catálogo de construcciones religiosas del Estado de Yucatán,* under the direction of Luis Vega Bolaños, J. Ignacio Rubio Mañé, José García Preciat, Alfred Barrera Vázquez, and Justino Fernández. The four volumes, which belong in all Mexican libraries, were handsomely printed by the Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, Mexico City.

The fourth volume of the proceedings of the Second Congress of National History, held in Brazil on April 7-14, 1931, appeared last year in Rio de Janeiro under the auspices of the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute. There are 795 pages of text.

The latest number of the *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro), Vol. 187, April-June 1945, is devoted for the most part to the Baron of Rio-Branco, the centenary of whose birth was widely celebrated last year.

A number of recent Spanish publications have been received which are of particular interest to Catholic scholars. *Al-Andalus,* with editorial offices at Medinaceli 4, Madrid, is the journal of the Schools of Arabic Studies of Madrid and Granada. *Estudios Bíblicos,* San Buenaventura 9, Madrid, is the journal of the Association for the Encouragement of Biblical Studies in Spain. *España Misionera,* Imperial 1, is the organ of the Superior Council of Missions. *Missionalia Hispanica,* Medinaceli 4, is published by the mission section of the Fernández de Oviedo Institute.

Professor John Van Horne, who has served for two years as cultural attaché at the American embassy in Madrid, has returned to his position in the department of Romance languages in the University of Illinois. American scholars owe him a debt of gratitude for the efficiency with which he took care of their requests for books and photostats. His understanding sympathy greatly endeared him to scholarly circles in Spain. It is to be hoped that our government will see fit to continue appointments of this nature in our embassies.

A seventy-five-page brochure by Professor E. Lousse, *L'Université de Louvain pendant la seconde guerre mondiale,* has been published by Desclée, de Brouwer & C^{ie} (Bruges, 1945). It gives a dramatic, illustrated account of the destruction that has visited Louvain anew, notably the loss of the 900,000 volumes of its library in May, 1940 and the general havoc wrought in town and university by the bombing in May, 1944. It tells of unflinching resistance and high courage to begin over again. After all, the beloved *Sedes Sapientiae* statue, buried under the debris of Saint Pierre, has been restored, and the carillon hangs intact in the tower of the library. The booklet carries a mute appeal for assistance.

Cyril G. Gaul, O.S.B., professor of church history in St. Meinrad Seminary, died on February 9 at the age of nearly sixty-two. Father Cyril was the editor of the *St. Meinrad Historical Essays,* through which much fine work was done by his students. This publication was especially of value in demonstrating the interest that can be aroused in undergraduate students when they have a resourceful teacher and are offered some medium of publication for their literary efforts.

Paul Marichal, veteran member of the staff of the Archives Nationales, and tireless historian died on July 16, 1943.

Jean Berthold Mahn, son-in-law of Ferdinand Lot and promising young French mediaevalist, was killed in action in Italy on April 23, 1944. He had nearly completed his work for the doctorate on a phase of Cistercian history. Both Mahn and his wife became converts to the Catholic Church.

Several other deaths among distinguished French historians have come to our notice: Henri Stein, noted bibliographer; Eugène Albertini, Roman historian; Charles Diehl, veteran Byzantinist; Edouard Jordan, Sorbonne mediaevalist; and André Deléage, specialist in mediaeval economic history.

The centennial of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in the United States, which was celebrated last year, has been commemorated in an attractive illustrated brochure by Mark K. Carroll entitled: *Ten Decades of Charity.*

The centenary of the Ecole des Carmes was celebrated in Paris on January 7. The school was founded by Archbishop Affre to counteract the secularist and anti-clerical trends in education in France. It was the forerunner of the Institut Catholique de Paris which came into being in 1875 with four separate schools. The present enrollment of the Institut is 3,240 students.

Documents: Journal of Father Vitry of the Society of Jesus, Army Chaplain during the War against the Chickasaw. Jean Delanglez *(Mid-America,* Jan.).—The Journey of an Immigrant Family from The Netherlands to Milwaukee in 1854. Henry S. Lucas *(Wisconsin Magazine of History,* Dec., 1945).—L'originale d'una lettera di Giuseppe Mazzini. Angelo Mercati *(Aevum,* Fasc. 3-4, 1943).—Le note diplomatiche di Mons. Lambruschini al Card. G. Albani, Segretario di Stato, durante la monarchia di iuglio (iuglio-ottobre 1830). Antonio Quacquarelli (*ibid.*).

BRIEF NOTICES

Atwood, E. Bagby and Virgil K. Whitaker (Eds.). *Excidium Troiae.* (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1944. Pp. xcii, 81. $3.50; to members of the Academy $2.80.)

This book contains the first complete edition of the *Excidium Troiae,* a work dealing with the fall of Troy, wandering of Aeneas, and the founding of Rome. In its present form, the work dates from late antiquity or the early Middle Ages. The text is established on the basis of three MSS: *Laurentianus* LXVI, 40, *saec.* IX, Bodleianus Rawlinson D893, *saec.* XIII-XIV, and *Riccardianus* 881, *saec.* XIII-XIV. The critical apparatus is unusually full, as it should be in the case of a text of this kind. A long introduction treats in comprehensive fashion all the historical and literary problems connected with the text. The sections on the sources and possible relationships are especially well done. The bibliography of analogous texts covers the classical and mediaeval versions, and thus furnishes easy control of a widely scattered material. The text is followed by critical notes and commentary. Four well executed plates reproduce typical pages of the three MSS. The index contains proper names only.

A few critical comments are in order. In the introduction it is stated repeatedly that the *Excidium Troiae* is written in vulgar Latin. It is written rather in a simple, plain Latin style which shows vulgar coloring in vocabulary but patricularly in syntax. Its language, therefore, should be called vulgar Latin only in this very restricted sense. The reviewer is sceptical about the suggestions that the use of the comparative for the superlative of the adjective and of *in* with the accusative in the sense of "in the likeness of" are Gallicisms (pp. xv, 60, 62). These usages occurred pretty generally in late Latin of vulgar flavor and passed into common primitive Romance. The statement that *consanctio* "is not listed in the standard lexicons" is incorrect (p. 60). The word is listed in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* and is cited from Fulgentius—a fact that has some bearing on the possible sources of the text. In the reviewer's opinion, the editors should have prepared a complete linguistic commentary on their text. Their present commentary deals with a few points of vocabulary and syntax only. In any event, they should have furnished their edition with a copious or complete *index verborum.* (Martin R. P. McGuire)

Bower, William Clayton. *Church and State in Education.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1944. Pp. v, 102. $1.50.)

This book points to the need of religion as essential for modern democratic society and calls attention to the problem created by the exclusion of "this fundamental function of democracy" from public education. Although the problem of religious education was insoluble in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries because of intense sectarian quarrels over control of schools, the author concludes that its solution is not improbable today because of the withdrawal of religion in America from its "traditional theological and sectarian stereotypes" and its turning toward "more personal and social values." It is in these personal and social values of religion that it's "functional character" is found as distinguished from the "structures" of theological belief and ceremonial. The latter are constantly changing while the function of religion, that is, "the integration and revaluation of the values involved in all the practical interests of the common life" remain constant.

Because of this functional character Dr. Bower proposes that non-sectarian religion as a phase of culture be introduced as an integral part of public education on the same cultural plane with other fields of knowledge. He emphasizes some very fine points, among them being the importance of the family in religious education, the unique opportunity that religion offers for bringing order and unity into the present chaos of education, as well as his recommendation that it be considered as its integrating principle. It is difficult to see, however, that he has not fallen into the same old nineteenth-century error of recommending non-denominationalism as the solution for religion in public education, a solution always unacceptable to those who believe in a divinely-revealed religion, and who must in conscience reject the creed of another. For non-denominationalism under whatever guise must always in itself constitute a religious creed.

The very fact, however, that this book has been written indicates that the question of religion in education is by no means an academic one. (CHARLES J. MAHONEY)

BOYLAN, MARGUERITE T., Executive Secretary, Catholic Charities, Diocese of Brooklyn. *They Shall Live Again.* (New York: Cosmopolitan Science and Art Service Co., Inc. 1945. Pp. xiii, 182. $2.25.)

Written before V-J day on the theory that "what's past is prologue," this book presents a record of Catholic organizational activity in the United States and Europe primarily as a guide to the use of indigenous facilities in post-war relief and reconstruction tasks abroad. It is subtitled in a non-inclusive fashion, "The Story of the National Catholic War Council Overseas after World War I."

The beginnings of the National Catholic War Council and the personalities of some of its early leaders are sketched, and a fuller picture of its work for soldiers of the occupation, and for the suffering populations, in Europe after World War I is presented. Its more heavily burdened heirs and counterparts of World War II (War Relief Services of the N.C.W.C. and the National Catholic Community Service) receive a brief treatment, as does the framework of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, peacetime successor of the National Catholic War Council.

The author has used her experiences overseas with the National Catholic War Council to present an informal directory of Catholic social organizations and movements working in France, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, England, and Ireland during the inter-war years, with interpolations and reflections which in some cases bring their activities up to date. The volume does not purport to be an exhaustive study, and in one sense it may be classed as personal reminiscences. It is perhaps natural, therefore, that the conception and treatment of the several countries involved should be uneven and fragmentary. Thus, for example, while we receive glimpses of the present fate and state, both national and international, of Jocisme and the Pro Deo movement in the chapter on Belgium, the considerable achievements in 1919 of Don Sturzo's Popular Party in Italy are mentioned but there is no indication that the activities were ever disrupted or that Catholic Action organizations, to which a large part of the chapter is devoted, ever encountered any difficulties.

The accent, following Dr. Boylan's interests, is on social welfare and charitable organizations, but the reader receives a general introduction to the various countries through Catholic groups working in many fields—in trade unions, agriculture, education, the press, etc., as well as in official Catholic Action organizations and groups of international scope. Some of these organizations are being revived; others are not. The historian of Catholic social action will find gathered in this small volume much material not elsewhere available. (Catherine Schaefer)

A Father of the Abbey of Gethsemani, Kentucky. *Compendium of the History of the Cistercian Order.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1944. Pp. xv, 375. $4.00.)

This volume on the Cistercians is divided into four parts: (1) the period of foundation, 1098-1134; (2) the golden period, 1134-1342; (3) the period of decline, 1342-1790, and (4) the period of restoration. After a brief summary of the lives of such illustrious monks as Sts. Benedict, Robert of Molesme, Alberic, Bernard, and Stephen Harding there follows a delineation of the Benedictine rule and of the Cistercian constitution (the charter of charity). The author then develops the main phase of his work, the history of the Cistercian Order itself, but especially in its reform branch, the Stricter Observance, known commonly as the Trappists. After enumerating the general causes of decline in all religious orders, as in the Church, during the fourteenth century occasioned by the black death, immense wealth, the spirit of the Renaissance, etc., the author treats of "An Era of Reform within the Order" (p. 230), and then proceeds logically to give the history of the Trappist reform together with its liturgy, midnight matins, austere penances, strictest silence, manual labor, perpetual abstinence from meat, etc. In five appendices he (1) records the official list of Cistercian saints and blessed; (2) corrects certain historical misconceptions; (3) gives the "Charter of Charity;" (4) discusses the time of the foundation of the various Trappist monasteries throughout the world; and finally (5) lists a number of recent Trappist foundations in the United States. There follows a short index. The value of the book is enhanced by plans and illustrations. The author carries the reader through the days of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the modern periods of church history. Hardly a famous pope or secular ruler of note escapes his attention.

The book is interestly written, critically documented, and pleasingly printed, although the name of the Bruce Publishing Company does not appear on the title page. Due to the fact that a complete history, especially in English, has never been published, this volume will form a welcome addition to the large number of other publications on religious orders and congregations. However, the student will undoubtedly miss the lack of a summary of papal documents bearing on the Cistercians and Trappists; also a larger bibliography than that cursorily mentioned in the "Author's Note." The reviewer is not so sure that the author has disspelled irrevocably all the "misconceptions" he promised in part two of the appendix. In general, however, the reading public will be ever grateful to him for having given this valuable background to such religious romances as *The Family Which Overtook God* and *The Man Who Got Even With God,* and to such biographies as *The Life of St. Stephen Harding, Abbot of Citeaux, 1066-1134,* just off the press. Those who do not feel the call to the sacred ministry or to the clerical or religious educational crusade, through direct contact with souls, but prefer the hidden life of prayer and self-denial in communion with God, will find in this book an alluring invitation and an authentic directive. (RAPHAEL M. HUBER)

BRUNN, GEOFFREY. *Europe in Evolution.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1945. Pp. xvi, 533. $3.50.) This work is a textbook for colleges, an introduction to the involved period of European history covering the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, from the Council of Constance to the Congress of Vienna. It would be easy in such a work to lose oneself in facts, important as they are, and to leave obscure the general picture and the great motivating forces. Professor Brunn has carefully avoided this. While giving the necessary landmarks, the great names and achievements, he has stressed rather the causes of movements and the influences that operated on their development. What is particularly pleasing is the treatment he gives of the development of mathematics and the natural sciences, with their influence on philosophical thought, discoveries of new lands, military science and, later, on industry.

The work is written in in no dry, statistical manner but in a very readable style with at times really good writing quite unexpected in a textbook. It should be a helpful guide for both teacher and student. Owing to the broad over-all treatment extra reading will be necessary, or, at least, advisable. The author, therefore, gives a short list of well-chosen works. An index enhances the value of the work, which is enriched also by good maps and illustrations.

A few mistakes may be noted. On page 22 the sentence beginning, "The great theologians . . ." is a somewhat confusing attempt to press into one category the views of the theological and philosophical schools of the thirteenth century, which were quite varied. Contrary to what the author says on page 255, St. Thomas does not include "principles and relationships governing physical phenomena" in natural law, although he admits that these can be called law *per similitudinem,* i.e., in so far as they are inclinations to proper acts and ends derived from the eternal law. But law properly is always *aliquid rationis.* There would be, then, no handle in St. Thomas' view for a mechanistic theory of society based on natural law, such as is described (p. 264). Bellarmine's theory of consent by which civil authority is placed in a determinate man or body of men, should be more sharply distinguished from the contract theory (pp. 260-261), by which individuals agree to enter into civil society and employ ministers to carry out their will. We find the spelling "Bellarmin" (pp. 254-260). This should be either in the English form, "Bellarmine," or here, preferably, in the Italian, "Bellarmino," as the first name is given as

"Roberto." Then why not say "Saint" Theresa instead of "Santa" (p. 203), or better still, "Theresa of Avila," as the saint stands with others, whose full names are given without any prefix, "saint." The date of the bull, *Unigenitus* should not be 1715 but 1713 (p. 298). (EDWARD HAGEMANN)

F. D. F. *Solio seraphico no Brasil.* (Petrópolis: Tipografia das "Vozes de Petrópolis." 1926. Pp. 72.)

FREI DIOGO FREITAS, O.F.M. *Elencho biographico dos religiosos antigos da provincia franciscana da Immaculada Conceição do Brasil.* (Petrópolis: Tipografia das "Vozes de Petrópolis." 1931. Pp. 406.) Though these two items were published several years ago, they form part of the collection of Brazilian Franciscana recently submitted to the editors for purposes of review. Some of the titles in the collection have already been touched upon in these pages; others are mentioned elsewhere in this issue.

The *Solio seraphico no Brasil* is a series of short biographies of members of the Franciscan family in Brazil who have been elevated to the episcopacy. Three of their number have been Archbishops of Baía; one has been Bishop of Rio de Janeiro; one, Bishop Coadjutor of Rio de Janeiro; three, Bishops of São Luiz do Maranhão; two, Bishops of São Paulo; one Bishop of Grão Pará; one, Bishop of Pará; two, Bishops of Mariana; one, Bishop of Olinda; one, Bishop of Santarém; one, Bishop Coadjutor of Campanha; one, Bishop of Camacho; and one, Bishop of Manaus. The list is impressive, and the names that figure in it cover the history of the order in Brazil. An especially long biography is that of Dom Frei Vital, Capuchin, Bishop of Olinda, who played an outstanding role in the episcopal-masonic controversy in Brazil in the seventies of the past century.

The second book is a chronological list of the biographies of the outstanding religious of the Franciscan Province of the Immaculate Conception. There are a total of 812 entries. Among the longer biographies are those of Francisco de Monte Alverne, master of sacred eloquence; of Fabiano de Cristo, around whom a great popular devotion has grown; of Apolinário da Conceição, the chronicler; of José Mariano da Conceição Veloso, the scientist; of Francisco de Santa Teresa de Jesús São Paio, who took part in the movement for the political independence of Brazil; of Antônio do Extremo, the missionary; of Antônio de Santa Ana Galvão; Francisco de São Carlos; Inácio de Santa Justina; and João do Amor Divino Costa. The index, also arranged chronologically, is not complete.

For the history of the Franciscan family in Brazil, and particularly for the history of the Friars Minor, these two compendia will prove highly useful. (MANOEL S. CARDOZO)

FRANK, ERICH. *Philosophical Understanding and Religious Truth.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1945. Pp. x, 209. $2.50.)

This small book is one of the most profound and stimulating philosophical studies published in recent years. It must be admitted that it will disappoint those who look for a treatise in the Thomistic tradition. Although Erich Frank has a profound knowledge of Greek philosophy and St. Augustine and although he knows St. Thomas and such Thomistic authors as Cajetan and the Spanish twentieth-century Dominican, Father Ramirez, his approach will seem unusual to those who have been trained in philosophy with the help of Thomistic textbooks. Erich Frank is an "existenz philosopher." (Cf. Hannah Arendt, "The Existenz Philosophy," *Partisan Review,* January, 1946.) But he is—unlike Heidegger and Jaspers—a Christian existenz philosopher. His starting point is human existence, not an analysis of universal being. His purpose is to show that human existence demands something beyond itself—that philosophy must lead to faith through which we "for whom God is not of this world . . . can have access to the Absolute. Before God, our reason becomes mute and it is in silence that He reveals Himself to us as the Presence by which we are determined in our whole existence" (p. 164). Our whole existence cannot be determined by this world, by nature, by the acceptance of universal laws of development.

The book attacks various kinds of deification of man and nature. It is not always easy reading and the author's special terminology must be carefully studied. But an effort to understand it and to look beyond its letter to its spirit will bring ample compensation. It shows the greatness of men and of their reason when they recognize their source and aim, the Creator, and their helplessness, when they reject Him.

The historian will find many pages of great interest to him. There are various remarks—particularly in the elaborated notes—on the history of philosophy, on Plato, Aristotle, St. Augustine, Descartes, and Kant. A complete chapter discusses "History and Destiny." Human existence is a historical existence, determined by time. But the meaning of history goes beyond time; it is the true freedom brought to the world by Jesus Christ and Christianity. Very impressive is the comparison between Caesar, who understood the forces of his time, and Jesus Christ: "In Christ, not in Caesar, did the truly creative power in the history of that age manifest itself" (p. 126). Another merit of the volume is its criticism of modern conceptions of history which oscillate between an over-optimistic view that considers history as the realiser of human progress, and exaggerated pessimism that makes men appear as the victims of the necessary dark forces of development. Those historians who are interested in the meaning of history will find much material for thought in Frank's analysis of time—the Greek conception of time is quite different from the Christian one which was consciously developed by St. Augustine; the difference between the Greek attitude to nature and creation is as impressively analysed as is the notion of spirit in St. Paul.

The book is a remarkable testimony to the fact that men of our time who recognise the limits of their existence and reason, and understand the development of Greek Christian and modern thought, approach the gates of religion. Although philosophy can never prove the fact of revelation, it can demonstrate by pointing out "the absolute limitations of human existence," the human necessity of faith and of accepting revelation. (WALDEMAR GURIAN)

GRAHAM, FRANK. *Al Smith, American.* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1945. Pp. ix, 242. $2.50.) As the author indicates, this is an informal biography. Mr. Graham is friendly, perhaps too much so, but at this time any biographer of Al Smith would be extremely friendly or unfriendly and in the case of a man who was loved by so many, it is better that the author be friendly. The events move swiftly and the story is well-told. It is apparent that the author either knew Al Smith or knew many people who were associated with him. The book will have an appeal, especially to the people whose cause was advanced by his actions, and in years to come it will furnish scholars with a contemporary setting for a more definitive story of a life filled with action and accomplishments.

There is no attempt on the part of the author to become involved in controversial subjects, which is undoubtedly wise as there has not been sufficient time to form any final opinion. The story of Al Smith again demonstrates that "fact is stranger than fiction," for it is difficult to realize that a poor boy without influence or education, as commonly understood, could rise from poverty to become a leading statesman of the richest nation on earth. His life would almost seem to offer some justification for political machines. His sense of justice and loyalty survived what is generally believed to be the worst type of influence.

Smith's progressive action was the result of what he saw and came in contact with personally. He was not a reader, which may be the reason why he was more of a humanitarian than a progressive. It is interesting to speculate on what he might have accomplished with his analitical mind and ability to win friends, had he been a non-Catholic and a university graduate.

There is undoubtedly fault to be found with a book which overlooks, for the most part, a man's weaknesses. However, there is need for this type of popular biography, telling in a friendly and interesting manner, the story of outstanding Americans. In this particular case, it will help confirm our faith in democracy. (THOMAS B. DUNN)

HOUGHTON, WALTER E. *The Art of Newman's Apologia.* (New Haven: Published for Wellesley College by Yale University Press. 1945. Pp. ix, 116. $2.50.)

The title of this brief work reveals its character: it is an attempt to display Newman's principles of biography, "his analytic method in action, his control of form and style in recreating the experience of the past, and his emphasis and expression as they have been affected by the aim of writing an apology," and finally, "to estimate its success with some confidence." The three parts of the book in their several chapters accordingly discuss Newman's equipment, his method and style, and the essential character of his book.

Although at times the reader may almost gain the impression that Mr. Houghton is concerned with Newman's artfulness as a writer rather than with his art, the final decision is unqualified: "Whether for defence or revelation, Newman's writing in the *Apologia* seems to me of the highest order" (p. 94). In the concluding chapters two questions are asked and answered: "Did Newman Tell the Truth?" and "How Good is Newman's Self-Analysis?" In the first the author distinguishes two kinds of "truth," the consistency of a convincingly presented character, as in a play or novel, and truth as conformity to actual fact. Quoting Mr. F. L. Cross's charge that Newman in "the *Apologia* gives a distinctly misleading account of the chief motives which led to the event to justify which the work was written," Mr. Houghton comes to a not dissimilar conclusion. He writes: "There is abundant evidence in the book that (1) Newman was strongly influenced by 'psychological' factors and (2) after Tract 90 he becomes increasingly bitter and resentful" (p. 99). Again: "What I would urge here is the primary status given to the sense of injustice and persecution, even to the point of being hounded from the Church, with the concurrent emotions of anger and resentment" (p. 106). In answer to his second question Mr. Houghton concludes that "in the analysis of motive the *Apologia* is not very successful" (p. 111).

Critics will vary with regard to Newman's *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* as they will with regard to most great works. Yet it is not an instance of *tot homines, quot senteniae,* since the vast majority are of one opinion. Do they not find in its pages a man who looked above all else for the truth in religion, who saw the theory of Christianity that he clung to crumble away in the light of history and in the face of contemporary fact, and who gained with his Catholic faith the certainty, peace, and happiness that he had sought long since? In many things a Platonist, Newman was one in nothing more than his will "to follow the argument where it leads." That it displays the argument so fully and so clearly is still the great merit of the *Apologia*. (JOHN K. RYAN)

MACARTNEY, M. H. H. *The Rebuilding of Italy.* (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York, Macmillan Co. 1945. Pp. 132. $1.25.) The range of Italian problems scrutinized by Mr. Macartney includes the possibility of parliamentary democracy, social and economic questions, foreign policy, and the Vatican. This brings the reader discussions on centralization, the different party views on the new constitution, agrarianism, nationalization of industry, what to do with Trieste, Fiume, and Albania. He premises that UNRRA will necessarily be more generous to our allies than to our former enemies and he feels the greatest help outside nations can proffer is to permit Italian immigration and access to raw materials.

The arrangement of the author is systematic, blending compression with completeness, and he packs into 130 pages an amazing amount of information. But the book presumes some knowledge on the part of the reader; beginners will find it dry and difficult. Two previous books on Italy, his years in Rome as correspondent of the London *Times,* plus considerable reading have given Mr. Macartney a wide knowledge of Italy which is apparent in the present volume.

This reviewer feels that the author at times lacks sympathy for the Italian people, and he has no sympathy at all for their Church. He writes of our American citizens who are Italian: (They) "are very far from constituting an undigestible mass of ice-cream merchants and gangsters." He is quite familiar with those who have written on the Vatican and fascism, crowding into the same ring Salvemini, Gardini, Pentad, Binchy, and Sturzo. Although he claims to regard highly the scholarship of Binchy and Sturzo, the others get in all the blows in a ratio of about fifty to one. Binchy and Sturzo come in only to be hit on the head and to have their mistakes pointed out, while the party line of the anti-clericals and Free Masons in destroying the concordat, disestablishing the Church, and rooting religion out of the schools, is characterized as the thought of "keen anti-fascists," "more advanced thinkers," and "prominent refugees." In this section the enemies of the Church will find an ample arsenal.

Mr. Macartney makes a valid point in comparing Binchy's protestation, that only seventy-four out of 300 Italian prelates favored fascism, to the chambermaid's excuse that her illegitimate baby was "such a little one." (Edward F. Kenrick)

McMahon, Francis E., Associate Professor of Philosophy, University of Chicago. *A Catholic Looks at the World.* (New York: Vanguard Press. 1945. Pp. x, 334. $2.75.)

We have here a social apologetic by a progressive lay Catholic thinker. Not only do we find the book to be a popular statement of the social philosophy of the Church, but a vigorous attempt is made to apply Christian principles realistically. McMahon lays bare the Christian social ethic ably and he clearly manifests how apt and necessary this code is in the modern world. He has obviously written the book with the purpose of convincing non-Catholic intellectuals that the Catholic Church is not reactionary or the intransigent defender of an unsatisfactory status quo, no matter how easily some of her members may fit into both those categories. If Dr. McMahon has not succeeded in convincing "liberals" of this fact, it will not be for the want of trying. Informed Catholics will find nothing new in his repetition of familiar Catholic social principles. Ryan, Haas, Parsons, La Farge, Masse, Monaghan, and others have eminently prepared the way before him. The author is convincing in his interpretation that our principles favor much of the New Deal, and such policies and programs as the F.E.P.C., U.N., Bretton Woods, etc. A great deal of space is devoted to the kinship of Christianity and democracy in the hope that many already confused liberals will entertain seriously the proposition that the Church is really not in favor of fascism.

Two really significant chapters in the book concern the failures of Christians and liberals, and the responsibility of each for the present world chaos. Christians have failed because "they preached heavy cream while they practised skimmed milk." Liberals have failed because they are basically materialist, and the intrinsic dignity of man, which they all stoutly defend, has no place in such a crass philosophy. McMahon does an excellent job of showing how many "liberal" principles, when stretched to their necessary end, are really fascist and not democratic at all. On this basis Hitler and Mussolini, following Voltaire, Rousseau, and Paine whom liberals idolize, were great democrats. There is nothing phenomenal about *A Catholic Looks at the World.* Yet considering what the author set out to accomplish, it does have value. (George A. Kelly)

Moody, John. *John Henry Newman.* (New York: Sheed & Ward. 1945. Pp. ix, 353. $3.75.) While travelling in Rome in 1832 as young Anglican churchmen Newman and Froude were introduced to a young priest in charge of the English College, Nicholas Wiseman, the future Archbishop of Westminster. In answer to Monsignor Wiseman's invitation to return to the Eternal City soon again Newman solemnly replied, "We have a work to do in England!" It was the same Wiseman whose article in the *Dublin Review* on the Donatists set Newman on the path to his great work in England.

John Moody traces that work with a delicate and understanding hand up to its completion in the death of Newman on August 11, 1890. A convert himself from Anglicanism, the author presents the history of the great man and, through him, the history of the Oxford Movement with a sympathetic insight into the many crises that preceded and followed that fateful day of October 9, 1845, when Newman was received into the Catholic Church.

With every page turned — it is surprising how quickly they turn — one's love and respect for the saintly priest grows deeper because Mr. Moody by his judicious selection of quotations from Newman's writings reveals a man in full possession of the rarest of all virtues, humility. Beset by a host of troubles such as the Achilli affair, the Dublin university experience, the embarrassing result of the proposal to the Pope that he be made a bishop, the attack on his orthodoxy at Rome, Newman suffered intensely at the hands of Catholics and non-Catholics alike. These trials revealed a man of deep spirituality and obedience and they occasioned great writings such as the *Apologia* and his famous letter to Dr. Pusey on the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Keenly aware of the insidious nature of nineteenth-century liberalism in its attack against the foundation of revealed religion, Cardinal Newman dedicated his entire life, both as an Anglican and after 1845 as a Catholic, in effectively combating by word and by pen this vicious foe. Even to his dying days he spent himself in trying to rescue old-time friends as Mark Pattison who fell under its sway.

Newman certainly did "have work to do in England" and Mr. Moody in a most readable style has brought out how well he did it. (Daniel J. Brady)

Neill, Thomas P. *Weapons for Peace.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1945. Pp. ix, 334. $2.50.) Dr. Neill's semi-popular paraphrase and application of the papal principles for peace is a blending of history, social philosophy, and economics — with the emphasis on history. Trained historian that he is, the author insists that neither war nor peace can be discussed intelligently in a vacuum. Our analysis of the one and our plans and formulae for the other will be inadequate at best unless they are viewed against the broad perspective of the last four hundred years of western history. Dr. Neill's professional colleagues will probably question a few of his, perhaps, too facile generalizations, but the busy student of current peace proposals will find the author's historical summary a salutary corrective to the more utopian panaceas of the uprooted "liberals" in our midst.

Students of recent papal documents on international relations will find nothing substantially new in the second half of the author's analysis of the principles for peace, but they will be gratified by his realistic and forward-looking point of view. His repeated emphasis on the necessity of a rather radical kind of Christian social reconstruction is particularly welcome, as is his tolerant and sympathetic appreciation of the fact that it is easier to talk about the principles for peace and to write about them than it is to put them into practice. Catholic commentators have not always been as willing to look at the problem understandingly and sympathetically from the point of view of the harassed statesman, nor have they always been as willing to admit that Catholics are just about as much to blame for the current international crisis as are the rest of the men. A careful reading of Dr. Neill's treatment of this most important of subjects will greatly assist his co-religionists to make up for lost time in bringing Christian principles to bear with prudence and effectiveness in international life. (GEORGE G. HIGGINS)

NEWCOMB, COVELLE. *Larger Than the Sky. A Story of James Cardinal Gibbons.* Illustrated by Addison Burbank. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., Inc. 1945. Pp. 216. $2.50.) This little book is intended to present the high lights in the inspiring life of Cardinal Gibbons to young readers. In the main the author has succeeded insofar as she has caught the spirit of the man and given proper emphasis to his great love of God, the Church, America, and his fellow man. No sensible professional historian will quarrel with the objective of a writer who wishes to put the life of a man like Cardinal Gibbons into popular dress for young American readers. No end of good is to be accomplished by such a motive. But the professional historian is within his rights if he demands that the popularizer stick to the facts. That, unfortunately, Mrs. Newcomb has not done in many particulars. Space forbids a complete listing of the errors and inaccuracies to be found in the biography. The following must suffice to illustrate the point that the author's fidelity to facts is not nearly so happy as her ability to tell a story.

There is no evidence for Gibbons' having emptied St. Patrick's Church at Fells Point on a Sunday morning in August, 1861, because of his insistence on praying for Abraham Lincoln (pp. 45-46); he was not "responsible for the calling" of the Second Plenary Council in 1866 (p. 97); there is no evidence in the cardinal's diary, most of which the reviewer has read, that it noted him paying visits to Presidents Grant, Hayes, and Garfield (p. 125); Gibbons was first informed in February, 1886, that he was to receive the red hat by a telegram from Archbishop Corrigan of New York and not by the cable from Count Soderini (pp. 128-129); Gibbons and Cardinal Taschereau of Quebec, who differed over the Knights of Labor, could hardly be called "old friends" when they came together on board ship to sail for Rome in 1887, since they had never met before (p. 131); President Cleveland was not influenced by the Knights of Labor case in 1887 to found the Department of Labor, since that cabinet post was not created until 1913 (p. 133); at the meeting of the American archbishops on the Knights of Labor case in October, 1886, it happened that only two opposed Gibbons' action — quite different to Mrs. Newcomb's way of stating the case: "Two were with him, ten against him" (p. 134); while there is evidence of the very high esteem that Gibbons had for Cardinal Nemwan it is an exaggeration to say that Newman — with Leo XIII and Manning — were "the three men who had most deeply influenced his life" (p. 188). The description of the inner workings of the conclave of 1903 makes interesting reading but Cardinal Gibbons would be the first to disavow the preponderant role Mrs. Newcomb assigns to him in the election of Pius X (pp. 184-196). We have here, then, a charming story that will give inspiration to many young Americans from the life of one of the Republic's greatest citizens. The sole regret is that it did not adhere to the bountiful facts which can easily be authenticated in the more than eighty-six years of the life of Baltimore's great cardinal. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

POTTER, DAVID M. (Ed.) *Trail to California. The Overland Journal of Vincent Geiger and Wakeman Bryarly.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1945. Pp. xii, 266. $3.50.) The manuscript portion of the William Robertson Coe Collection, which touches almost every aspect of the history of the West and contains some fifty overland journals, was presented to Yale University in 1943. Students of western Americana, awaiting some intimation of the richness of this material, can be assured of its wealth with the publication of this volume. The debt is to one of the University's prominent historians, but for more than the editing, since his work is, perhaps, even more valuable as a study. He compares a great number of other sources, primary and secondary, in numerous footnotes and appendices; and he gives tone and direction to his presentation with a preface and introduction at once scholarly and provocative.

In his treatment the editor has attempted to emphasize some of the neglected features of the trek of the forty-niners. Particularly, and with a great deal of success, does he stress the point that the overland journey was regulated by animistic rather than mechanistic factors. Thus, the departure from Missouri must be calculated to coincide with the appearance of grass on the plains and the absence of snow in the Sierras. Once out on the plains the animals became more important than the men who depended on them, and the day's travel, the choice of roads, and the camp-site must suit them. Mr. Potter is also guided by an opinion that the discovery of gold was but a superficial cause for the mass movement to California. He prefers to characterize the gold rush as a "climactic manifestation of an American pioneer impulse to overrun the continent and to subdue it." Unfortunately for Californians, on this point he is not quite convincing. Any disappointment, however, is quickly lost sight of in the abundance of interesting material. Thus we learn that the deadliest enemy of the forty-niners was not the Indian menace but rather the cholera-infested river towns of the South; that Frémont and other pathmarkers of the early forties were not held in high esteem, and one pioneer poet, who failed to see the same beauty in the Humboldt, refers to them as "scribbling asses;" that the emigrants expected to reach California in two months, and yet allotted forty pounds of coffee per man; that they computed $100 as sufficient for the journey, but had not counted on the Mormons and other profiteers who would charge them $24 to ferry a wagon-load; that the Indians along the trail classified the white men according to the language of the teamsters, thus the "whoa haws" and the "G-d d--ns."

The journalists, Vincent Geiger and Dr. Wakeman Bryarly, both natives of the Old Dominion, had joined the army to fight in the Mexican affair but instead found themselves part of the drab army of occupation. An adventuresome spirit next rushed them along the trail to California as members of the Charleston Company, the largest group to cross the plains up to that time. These two, at that time in their late twenties, were to die early deaths, but not on the trail likened by Potter to a "vast, deliberately contrived obstacle course." The journal of the 110-day trek was kept by Geiger from May 10 to June 23, on which date it was taken up by Bryarly until the arrival in California on August 30. The narrative of Bryarly, full, imaginative and poetic, surpasses that of Geiger, which tends to be more concise and businesslike. The complete diary, however, is carried along by the enthusiasm of 1849, and makes for reading, interesting as well as informative. (TIMOTHY J. CASEY)

PRIVITERA, JOSEPH F. *The Latin American Front.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1945. Pp. xi, 212. $2.25.) There is no very marked difference between this work of Mr. Privitera's and other recent publications on the same subject. The problem of the presentation of the relationships, both cultural and commercial, between Latin America and the United States is a vast one and too often writers on this theme follow a pattern already used by those who have approached it before them. The stressing of differences of thought, of business technique, and of government is familiar to anyone acquainted with works of this type. Mr. Privitera has managed to give us too few new ideas. Fortunately, he has presented these in a readable style.

Divided into three sections, or more properly into three fronts, the psychological, the economic, and the political, the author outlines the contemporary situation of Pan Americanism, the differences in ideology, the prerequisites for proper understanding, the opportunities for economic penetration, the Puerto Rican problem, the present state of governmental aid, and finally an appreciation of the politics of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, and the Aprismo movement of Haya de la Torre. He concludes with an analysis of the possible future direction of our relationships with Latin America.

Generally the material is well covered, although exception must be taken to several points. Mr. Privitera makes one prediction in his book and it is a most unfortunate one. It is that, unless aid comes from the Catholics of the United States, "by the turn of the century, much of Latin America will be Protestant." His reasons for such a statement seem most inconclusive and with the current resurgence of Catholic thought and especially of Catholic Action in Latin America, they are even more unacceptable. Issue may be taken with his remarks on the statements of critics on certain administration policies in Latin America. While members of the opposition may be partially wrong in their attitudes and their motives, yet they also have some reason on their side and they certainly should be heard. The impatient air with which the author dismisses them does not make for an understanding of the issues. Also, Mr. Privitera has a tendency to make broad generalizations the validity of which does not seem to be well founded. This is especially true in the sections on Argentina and Brazil. (George C. A. Boehrer)

St. Athanasius. *The Incarnation of the Word of God.* Translated by a Religious of C.S.M.V., S.TH. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1946. Pp. 96. $1.50.)

This work is a readable, idiomatic approximation to the Greek text of the second book of St. Athanasius' *Adversus Gentes.* It may be a tribute to the translator's control over St. Athanasius to say that this work is, perhaps, what the saint would have written if he had written in English. But, unfortunately, for the paraphrase, *Libri non sunt multiplicandi,* this book does not render faithfully the Greek text. The method adopted by the translator was to simplify the sentence structure of the original, and occasionally to paraphrase and condense. It would have been well to indicate where paraphrase was used, but it was used so extensively that full annotation of the fact would have made the book larger than the translator intended. The object of the translation was to bring this great work within the reach of the twentieth-century Christian. The author did succeed in rendering with accuracy the substance of the thought and this alone makes the book worthwhile. The table of contents and the chapter-headings are helpful. An index of scriptural references and matters treated would have added to the value of the volume and would not have taken much time or space.

The life of St. Athanasius prefaced to the text explains well the position of the work in his life. C. S. Lewis in his introduction calls this "a good translation of a very great book." He pays special tribute to the translator's competency in patristic Greek. His introduction renders the book more valuable. Robertson's translation in the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* is verbally more faithful to the Greek, although to the modern reader not quite so idiomatically rendered as the present translation. The work is to be recommended for the subject matter treated and as a much-needed and popular introduction to the Patriarch of Alexandria. But it does not render unnecessary a more faithful translation that is literary and, at the same time, accurate with notes and commentary. (Robert Wilde)

Shotwell, James T. and Max M. Laserson. *Poland and Russia, 1919-1945.* (New York: Published for The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace by King's Crown Press. 1945. Pp. vi, 114. $2.25.) One of several projected studies on post-war European settlement, this book by the director of the Carnegie Endowment's Division of Economics and History and by a former professor of constitutional law at the Universities of Riga and St. Petersburg, deals with relations between Soviet Russia and Poland. Concerned primarily, but not wholly, with the disputed borderlands, the study is basically "an analysis of the attitudes of the parties to the dispute and of those interested in the dispute," on the assumption that "political questions are less concerned with the substance of the dispute than with the attitudes of the disputants toward each other."

With the aid of some pertinent studies and official documents in English, reenforced by selected Russian, Polish, Ukrainian, and White Ruthenian documentary and periodical literature, the authors analyze each of the four national viewpoints regarding the disputed borderlands. Their analysis convinces them of the "purely legal claims" of the Polish government in exile; of the increased "loyalty of the Ukrainian population to the Soviets;" of the "undoubtedly strengthened White Russian sentiment for the Soviet Union;" of Russia's "strong interest in the way Poland solves her problems;" and of " . . . the most tragic circumstance, that of Polish internal dissention. . . . It is a partition of Poland by the Poles, and comes from within Poland itself, in contrast with the external partition, towards the close of the eighteenth century, by Russia, Prussia, and Austria."

It is to be regretted that the authors have not used their practiced gifts to present the Polish side of the case with the same sympathetic insight and accuracy (not to mention a tendency toward benevolent euphemisms and credulity) that characterize their handling of Soviet-dictated data. Moreover, the standard *Cambridge History of Poland* is conspicuous by its absence from the bibliography, while at least twenty misspellings of Polish names and references occur. (Joseph V. Swastek)

Sturzo, Luigi. *Italy and the Coming World.* (New York: Roy Publishers. 1945. Pp. xiii, 303. $3.50.) In the introduction which Mr. Sumner Welles wrote for Don Sturzo's new book, he states rightly that "there can be no question that the views contained in this book are the expression of the sincere belief of a liberal and experienced Italian who seeks only the highest welfare of the Italian people. They are, however, not only the belief of an Italian patriot. They represent the convictions of an enlightened European, in the broadest sense of the term" (p. xii). While largely based on historical knowledge, the author gives much more than a historical survey of Italy's recent past; he deals with all the decisive political and cultural questions which concern Italy of today; and he is better entitled to do so than most writers. While centered on present-day Italy, the author often embraces political problems of the whole of Europe and the world. His discussion always presents an objective and apparently calm aspect and the reader feels the spell of the noble and humane personality of the author.

Too many important problems arise in the book to be stressed, or even mentioned, in the space at our disposal. Only a few remarks may be made. To a more narrowly historical mind it might seem that the anti-French trends in recent Italian policy did not suddenly rise with fascism (pp. 43, 47). There was an interesting prelude to be found, e.g., in the correspondence of Cavour. Thus some readers may think that the historical importance of the house of Savoy for the Risorgimento is somewhat undervaluated by the author (p. 109). The reviewer spent some twenty-six months in fighting against the Italian soldiers in World War I, and he fully agrees with Don Sturzo's careful evaluation of the Italian army; he does not think, however, that the defeat of Caporetto occurred without at first serious resistance on the Italian side. On the other hand he believes that the military achievements of Vittorio Veneto are overstressed in this book. Having had no political entanglements and speaking from a purely historical point of view, the reviewer does not think that the definite evaluation of Italian fascism and its leaders is to be found in this work of Don Sturzo, nor should it be expected at so early a date. From his personal experiences in Rome during the winter and spring of 1938 the reviewer would not subscribe to the statement that the rape of Austria would have been impossible had Italy opposed it (p. 47). It would be interesting likewise to inquire further into the growth of the special English resentment against Italy (p. 202), which exists even in men like George Macaulay Trevelyan who spent the larger part of their lives fighting on the opposite side.

A few curious chronological errors or misprints concerning Italy's entrance into World War I occur (p. 21). It should be said finally that the book is much more stimulating and richer than could be guessed from the few remarks made in these lines. For this reason in later editions an index should be added. (Friedrich Engel-Janosi)

Tennien, Mark. *Chungking Listening Post.* (New York: Creative Age Press, Inc. 1945. Pp. xiv, 201. $2.50.) Father Tennien's absorbing story of war-torn China is an excellent contribution towards a better understanding of China's problems today. Stationed in China at the time of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, this Maryknoll missionary was immediately dispatched by his superiors to Chungking to establish a central distribution office. It was his task to form a link between America and the scattered missions in China. How admirably he accomplished his assignment must, however, be read between the lines. The humble priest of Maryknoll refuses to accept the reward of recounting his own achievements. He does relate numerous tales, often heartrending as e.g., the misery and suffering inflicted on the inhabitants of Honan due to the flood of 1942 and to the locust scourge of 1943 — as well as tales often humorous—such as the case of the Maryknoll missionary, Father Feeney, who passed through the Japanese lines by presenting himself as an "American of Irish extraction."

In addition to the devastating Japanese invasion, numerous floods, famines, and financial chaos, the Chinese people were forced to contend with civil strife engineered by the communists. It should be readily understood, therefore, when we consider the obstacles which beset war-time China, why this heroic nation was unable to emerge victoriously without outside assistance. But, as Father Tennien observes, the Chinese people were aware of the help rendered by America, and they are deeply grateful for it.

Chungking did serve as an admirable listening post. It is unfortunate, however, that the author did not relate much more of what he heard relative to the Chungking-Yenan negotiations and to Russia's role in China. The American people invested heavily in liberating China from the yoke of Japan and they do not wish to see her pass under the tutelage of Russia.

This small book is, indeed, a tribute to all American missionaries in China, but particularly to the men of Maryknoll. We agree with General Stilwell when he says, "If you like people who have courage and live only for unselfish service to others, you will enjoy reading Father Tennien's book." (FINBARR BOHAN)

WOODWARD, W. E. *Tom Paine: America's Godfather.* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1945. Pp. 359. $3.50.) To become the champion of a man whose name has been besmirched by historical scandalmongers is, indeed, a noble ambition. This is the self-appointed task of the author of *Tom Paine.* In a very chatty biography he attempts to prove that Paine was not a "filthy sot who did not keep himself clean" and more, that he ought to be called America's godfather and inspirer of the Declaration of Independence.

That the author of *Common Sense* was not a drunkard or unkempt about his person until the last three years of his life (which is readily understandable because of his illness and senility) the author has proven after a fashion. But that Paine ought to be given the title of "godfather" is another question. A godfather, according to definition is "one viewed as holding a religious relationship like the natural one indicated, in consequence of sponsoring at Baptism." By what analogy can Paine claim this honor? In a religious sense? Hardly. While Paine was a deist and not an atheist, from his later works we know that he had repudiated Christianity and probably all other forms of religion since while in France he established a religion of his own. Certainly not many of the signers of the Declaration, who believed in the divinity of Christ, would have chosen him for this office. Perhaps, however, the author intends to confer on him this title because he sponsored the cause of independence. It cannot be doubted that *Common Sense* did aid considerably in stirring up the popular mind against England. But so did the Quebec Act which was passed in 1774, the year in which Paine arrived in America. Even at that time some were crying "No King, No Popery."

As for the claim that Paine inspired the Declaration of Independence, the author presents no evidence beyond a picture beneath which are the words, "In writing the Declaration he (Jefferson) followed closely the ideas expressed by Paine in *Common Sense.*" In lieu of the amount of controversy that has ranged around the sources for the Declaration, this does not seem to be a very sound historical solution to the problem.

In short, readers may admire Mr. Woodward for his anxiety to defend a man's name but regret that he did not spend his time and talent on a subject more worthy of the praise of the American public. Paine was no "saint in the cause of reason and freedom" as the author claims. He may have been a logician, but logicians must prove their major and minor premises before their conclusions can be accepted. His *Rights of Man* abounds in contradictions, half-truths, and unproved premises. Paine, like so many in his day and since, are "so taken up with the rights of man," as Edmund Burke observed, that they have "totally forgotten his nature." (ARTHUR F. NUGENT)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

History—a Science? Clarence P. Gould (*Mississippi Valley Histor. Rev.*, Dec., 1945).

Dogma, Theology and History. William Robinson (*Church Quart. Rev.*, Oct., 1945).

The Holy Inquisition. Francis D. S. Darwin *(ibid.)*.

Patrology and the New Age. A. Hadshar (*Dublin Rev.*, Jan.).

La evolución histórica y las limitaciones de la democracia. Pedro Bosch Gimpera *(Universidad* [Monterrey], Dec., 1945).

Some Defects of Democracy and Suggested Reforms. Herbert F. Quinn *(Culture,* Dec., 1945).

Astrólogos y quirománticos en la Nueva España. Julio Jimenez Rueda *(Filosofía y Letras,* Oct., 1945).

Sobre el problema de la verdad histórica. Varios *(ibid.)*.

Nationalism: A Survey. Michael Tierney *(Studies,* Dec., 1945).

After World War II. Waldemar Gurian *(Rev. of Politics,* Jan.).

Cartels: Realism or Escapism? Goetz A. Briefs (*ibid.*).

The Super-Powers at San Francisco. William T. R. Fox *(ibid.)*.

Hugo Grotius e a Escolástica. P. Eduardo M. Lustosa *(Verbum,* Sept., 1945).

The Role of Religion in the Social Philosophy of Alexis de Tocqueville. Joachim Wach *(Jrn. of the Hist. of Ideas,* Jan.).

Legendary Quotations and Lack of References. David Baumgardt (*ibid.*).

The "Withering Away" of the State. Solomon F. Bloom *(ibid.)*.

Suarez at Nuremberg. Richard E. Twohy *(America,* Jan. 12, 1946).

"Concepción y valorización del amor frente al conocimiento en San Agustín." Antonio Pinilla *(Revista de la Universidad Católica del Perú,* Sept., 1945).

The Place of Religious Sentiment in Saint Thomas. M.-Bernard Mailhiot *(Thomist,* Jan.).

The Library of the American Philosophical Society. William E. Lingelbach *(William and Mary Quart.,* Jan.).

Les thèmes de l'*Imitation.* Pierre Debongnie *(Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique,* July, 1940).

Le *Contra Noetum* de saint Hippolyte. Germain Morin *(ibid.,* 1-4, 1941).

Sur la provenance du *Missale gothicum.* Germain Morin (*ibid.*).

L'évolution des méthodes théologiques à Louvain, d'Erasme à Jansénius. Robert Guelluy *(ibid.)*.

La perpétuité de la foi dans la controverse Bossuet-Jurieu, 1686-1691. R. Struman *(ibid.)*.

La tradition manuscrite de l'Agathange grec. G. Garitte *(ibid.)*.

La persécution au II^{e} s. Une loi fantôme. Léon Dieu *(ibid.,* 1-2, 1942).

Les étapes de l'histoire de Kyrie. S. Gélase, S. Benoit, S. Grégoire. C. Callewaert *(ibid.)*.

Les origines de la préface romaine de la Vierge. B. Capelle (*ibid.*).

Les recherches sur l'origine du symbole depuis xxv années. J. de Ghellinck *(ibid.,* 1-2, 3-4, 1942).

S. Irénée et son correspondent, le diacre Démètre de Vienne. Ch. Martin *(ibid.,* 1-2, 1942).

La *Vita Bibautii* de Laevinus Ammonius. A. Roersch *(ibid.)*.

Progrès récents et tendances actuelles en histoire des bibliothèques. J. de Ghellinck *(ibid.)*.

Proclus de Constantinople et le théopaschisme. M. Richard *(ibid.,* 3-4, 1942).

Nouveaux éclaircissements sur le Maitre et S. Benoit. M. Alamo (*ibid.*).

Brillantes découvertes d'un jésuite espagnol et rétractation qui s'enuit. G. Morin *(ibid.)*.

Les lettres de S. Braulion sont-elles authentiques? M. Alamo *(ibid.)*.

La finale du canon de la Messe. C. Callewaert *(ibid.,* 1-2, 1943).

Le caractère raisonnable de l'acte de foi d'après les théologiens de la fin du xiii^{e} s. R. Aubert *(ibid.)*.

Les calendriers mozarabes d'après Dom Férotin. M. Alamo *(ibid.)*.

Mathieu de Castro, vicaire apostolique d'Idalcan, Pegu et Golconde (1638-1658). F. Combaluzier *(ibid.)*.

Godefroid de Bouillon était-il un "médiocre"? H. Glaesener *(ibid.,* 3-4, 1943).

L'efflorescence cistercienne et le courant féminin de piété au xii^{e} siècle. S. Roisin *(ibid.)*.

La Vie de S. Niphon, ermite au Mont Athos. François Halkin *(Analecta Bollandiana,* 1940).

Un légendier dominicain peu connu. M.-Hyacinthe Laurent *(ibid.)*.

Un calendrier-obituaire de Saint-Laurent de Liége. Maurice Coens *(ibid.)*.

Les notices hispaniques du Martyrologe Romain. Baudouin de Gaiffier *(ibid.)*.

De codice hagiographico Gothano. Paulus Grosjean *(ibid.)*.

Glanures martyrologiques. Paul Peeters *(ibid.)*.

Passio sancti Mammetis *(ibid.)*.

Les Actes des martyrs de Pergame. Hippolyte Delehaye *(ibid.)*.

Codicis Gothani appendix. Paulus Grosjean *(ibid.)*.

Un nouveau volume des *Acta Sanctorum* *(ibid.)*.

Hagiographie napolitaine. Hippolyte Delehaye *(ibid.,* 1941).

Vie et Miracles de S. Turibius. Baudouin de Gaiffier (*ibid.*).

La Vie géorgienne de S. Porphyre de Gaza. Paul Peters (*ibid.*).

Vita S. Ciarani episcopi de Saigir ex codice hagiographico Gothano. Paulus Grosjean *(ibid.)*.

Anciennes litanies des saints. Maurice Coens *(ibid.)*.

Publications récentes de textes hagiographiques grecs, II (1935-1940). François Halkin *(ibid.)*.

La Passion des SS. Cyriaque et Paule. Baudouin de Gaiffier *(ibid.*, 1942).

"Papebrochius." Maurice Coens *(ibid.)*.

Un légendier de Cysoing. Maurice Coens *(ibid.)*.

Note sur un manuscrit métaphrastique (Paris, Suppl. gr. 240). Charles Martin *(ibid.)*.

Un Vie de S. Secundinus, disciple de S. Patrice. Paul Grosjean *(ibid.)*.

Vie de S. Cadoc par Caradoc de Llancarfan. Paul Grosjean *(ibid.)*.

La translation de S. Antoine en Dauphiné. P. Noordeloos *(ibid.)*.

Trois légendes de S. Sigfrid. Toni Schmid *(ibid.)*.

S. Grégoire l'Illuminateur dans le calendrier lapidaire de Naples. Paul Peeters *(ibid.)*.

Le bréviaire d'Évora de 1548 et l'hagiographie ibérique. Baudouin de Gaiffier *(ibid.)*.

Une consultation hagiographique de Bossuet. Maurice Coens *(ibid.)*.

La légende de S. Antoine traduite de l'arabe par Alphonse Bonhome. François Halkin *(ibid.)*.

Appendice au catalogue des manuscrits hagiographiques de Trèves. Maurice Coens *(ibid.)*.

Le ménologe grec de Gothenbourg. François Halkin *(ibid.)*.

Saints de Tolentino. La *Vita S. Catervi*. Hippolyte Delehaye *(ibid.*, 1943).

S. Syméon Stylite et ses premiers biographes. Paul Peeters *(ibid.)*.

Le martyrologe de Saint-Cyriaque. Son influence sur le martyrologe Romain. Baudouin de Gaiffier *(ibid.)*.

Notes d'hagiographie celtique. Paul Grosjean *(ibid.)*.

Le culte en Suède de S^{te} Brigide l'Irlandaise. Toni Schmid *(ibid.)*.

S. Marcel de Tanger ou de Léon? Evolution d'une légende. Baudouin de Gaiffier *(ibid.)*.

Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum archivi historici civitatis Coloniensis. Mauritius Coens *(ibid.)*.

S. Barthélemy de Grottaferrata. Notes critiques. François Halkin *(ibid.)*.

Une histoire latine de S. Antoine: la "Légende de Patras." P. Noordeloos et François Halkin *(ibid.)*.

Translation et Miracles de S. Mennas par Léon d'Ostie et Pierre du Mont Cassin. Baudouin de Gaiffier *(ibid.*, 1944).

Analyse du Livre d'Armagh. Paul Grosjean *(ibid.)*.

Notes sur les documents anciens concernant S. Patrice. Paul Grosjean *(ibid.)*.

Sainte Golindouch, martyre perse. Paul Peeters *(ibid.)*.

Cyrille de Scythopolis. A propos de la nouvelle édition de ses oeuvres. Ernest Stein *(ibid.)*.

Saint Antoine le Jeune et Pétronas le vainquer des Arabes en 863 (d'après un texte inédit). François Halkin *(ibid.)*.

Lettres inédites du bollandiste Du Sollier à l'historien Schannat (1721-1734). Léon Halkin *(ibid.)*.

A linguagem dos símbolos na Igreja-Primitiva. Dinarte Duarte Passos *(Revista Ecclesiástica Brasileira,* Dec., 1945).

A questão de Galileu. Pedro Gaston Ribeiro de Veiga *(ibid.)*.

O têrmo "Principalitas" no testemunho de S. Irineu em favor do primado Romano. José Thurler *(ibid.)*.

A New Document of the Last Pagan Revival in the West. Herbert Bloch *(Harvard Theolog. Rev.*, Oct., 1945).

Das Naturrecht in thomistischer Beleuchtung. G. M. Manser *(Divus Thomas,* June, Sept., and Dec., 1943).

Die Leitungsnorm der Gemeinschaft: Das Gestez. E. Welty (*ibid.*, Sept. and Dec., 1943).

Der Kommentar eines Wiener Dominikanertheologen aus dem 15. Jahrhundert zur Summa contra Gentiles. M. Grabmann *(ibid.*, Sept., 1943).

Der Fall Galilei und wir Thomisten. Philosophie und Naturwissenschaft. P. Wyser *(ibid.*, Dec., 1943).

Der verfolgte Feind und das nichtgehaltene Versprechen in der Theologie der Frühscholastik. A. M. Landgraf *(ibid.*, March and June, 1944).

Johannes Capreolus, O.P., der "Princeps Thomistarum" und seine Stellung in der Geschichte der Thomistenschule. M. Grabmann *(ibid.*, March and June, 1944).

Franz von Vitoria, O.P., ein Pionier des modernen Völkerrechts. G. M. Manser *(ibid.*, June, 1944).

Hugo Grotius und die Freiheit des Meeres. G. M. Manser *(ibid.*, Sept., 1944).

Vom incomprehensibiliter inquirere Gottes im 1. Buch von De docta ignorantia des Nikolaus von Cues. M. Feigl *(ibid.*, Sept., 1944).

Ignatius von Antiochien und die römische Christengemeinde. O. Perler *(ibid.*, Dec., 1944).

Zur Geschichte der Kölner Dominikanerschule des 14. Jahrhunderts. G. M. Löhr *(ibid.*, March, Sept., and Dec., 1945).

Anwendung des Naturrechts auf individuellem Gebiete. G. M. Manser (*ibid.*, March, June, Sept., and Dec., 1945).

Über die Aufteilung der christlichen Philosophie nach verschiedenen Ordensidealen. M. Thiel (*ibid.*, Dec., 1945).

The Doctrine of St. Gregory of Nyssa on Man as the Image of God. J. T. Muckle *(Mediaeval Studies,* Vol. VII, 1945).

Geographical and Ethnic Names in the *Nibelungenlied.* Francis P. Magoun, Jr. *(ibid.)*.

Fin' Amors: the Pure Love of the Troubadours, its Amorality and Possible Source. A. J. Denomy *(ibid.).*

A Treatise on Love by Ibn Sina. Translated. Emil L. Fackenheim *(ibid.).*

Robert Courson on Penance. V. L. Kennedy *(ibid.).*

Multum ad. Etienne Gilson *(ibid.).*

Etudes mérovingiennes: la charte de Clotilde (10 mars, 673). Léon Levillain (*Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes,* 1944).

Christian Civilization and the Classics. Brother Alban *(Folia,* Jan.).

The Conversion of the Germanic World as Reflected in the Germanic Languages. Alfons A. Nehring *(ibid.).*

Auctor Pietatis in Roman Liturgy. Thomas Michels *(ibid.).*

Recensita Nativitate Respirare. Thomas Michels *(ibid.).*

The Temple of Apollo Philesius: Background of a Christian Legend. Rudolph Arbesmann *(ibid.).*

Essays on Byzantine Economic History, I: the *Annona Civica* and the *Annona Militaris.* Angelo Segrè *(Byzantion,* Vol. XVI, Fasc. 2, 1942-43).

Byzantine Law in the Seventh Century and its Reception by the Germans and the Arabs. R. S. Lopez *(ibid.).*

A Gay Crusader. J. L. Cate *(ibid.).*

The Influence of Cassiodorus on Medieval Culture. Leslie W. Jones *(Speculum,* Oct., 1945).

Were Hrotsvitha's Dramas Performed during Her Lifetime? Edwin H. Zeydel *(ibid.).*

The Renaissance Theory of the Reaction against the Middle Ages as a Cause of the Renaissance. Herbert Weisinger *(ibid.).*

The 35 Vatican MSS of St. Jerome's Vita Malchi. Charles Christopher Mierow *(ibid.).*

Roberto Grossatesta traduttore e commentatore del De mystica Theologia del pseudo-Dionigi Areopagita. Ulderico Gamba (*Aevum,* Fasc. I-IV, 1944).

Studi Boeziani. Luigi Alfonsi *(ibid.,* Fasc. 1-2, 1945).

The "De Fontibus Paradisi" of Alexander IV on the "Summa Theologica" of Alexander of Hales. Robert Prentice *(Franciscan Studies,* Dec., 1945).

Alexander of Hales, O.F.M.; His Life and Influence on Medieval Scholasticism. Raphael M. Huber *(ibid.).*

The System of Metaphysics of Alexander of Hales. Pilotheus Boehner *(ibid.).*

A Manuscript of Alexander of Hales. Gaudens E. Mohan *(ibid.).*

The "Intellectus Agens" in the "Summa" of Alexander of Hales. Margaret M. Curtin *(ibid.).*

A Bibliography of Alexander of Hales. Irenaeus Herscher *(ibid.).*

The Capuchin Lawrence: Diplomat and Advocate. Theodore Roemer *(Histor. Bulletin,* Jan.).

Historians of Trent. Martin F. Hasing *(ibid.).*

The Centenary of Trent—I. James Brodrick *(Month,* Nov., 1945).

Las bulas alejandrinas de 1943 referentes a las Indias. C. Bayle *(Razón y Fe,* Sept., 1945).

Geoffrey Fenton's "Historie of Guicciardin" and Holinshed's "Chronicles" of 1587. Jeannette Fellheimer *(Modern Language Quart.,* Sept., 1945).

A Liturgical Movement in the Middle Ages. Walter J. Ong *(Amer. Eccles. Rev.,* Feb.).

Brownson and the Papacy. Thomas Ryan *(ibid.).*

An Historical Study of the First Canonization of the Hebrew Liturgy. Solomon Zeitlin *(Jewish Quart. Rev.,* Jan.).

The Palestine Reality. Nancy Buckley (*Catholic World,* Jan., 1946).

The Origins of Freemasonry—An Examination of Some Theories. Humphrey J. T. Johnson *(Clergy Rev.,* Dec., 1945).

EUROPEAN

L'ancienne université de Louvain et la Déclaration du Clergé de France (1682). L. Ceyssens *(Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique,* 3-4, 1940). •

Le testament d'Henri III, duc de Brabant. G. Boland *(ibid.,* 1-2, 1942).

Frère Willaumes des Cordieles dans la Chronique rimée de Philippe Mousket. A. van den Wijngaert *(ibid.,* 3-4, 1942).

Un hospice pour nouveaux convertis à Rome au xvii^e^ siècle. J. Kleyntjes *(ibid.).*

Révolutionnaires de 1792-1793. B^on^ P. Verhaegen *(ibid.).*

Les études d'histoire ecclésiastique locale en France. Léon-É. Halkin *(ibid.).*

A propos de la cathédrale de Tournai et de sa restauration. R. Maere *(ibid.).*

Les emprunts bibliques dans la numismatique italienne. J. Vandervorst *(ibid.,* 3-4, 1943).

The Right of Taxation in France during the Religious Wars. Philip Dur *(Jrn. of Modern Hist.,* Dec., 1945).

A Mirror of France. John Murray *(Month,* Nov., 1945).

Count Cagliostro, Grand Cophta of the Enlightment. Duane Koenig *(Social Studies,* Dec., 1945).

Note on Mussolini. Joseph T. Durkin *(Commonweal,* Jan. 18, 1946).

Neo-Fascism. The Italian Sample. Max Ascoli *(Commonweal,* Feb. 1).

Political Catholicism in Germany. E. M. Vermehren *(Dublin Rev.,* Jan.).

The Assassination of Alexander II. Clarence A. Herbst *(Histor. Bulletin,* Jan.).

Tragedy in the Ukraine. Charles Keenan *(America,* Jan. 5).

The Austrian Election. Peter Berger *(ibid.,* Dec. 29, 1945).

Russian Church-Policy in Ukraine. Nicholas D. Czubatyi *(Ukrainian Quart.,* Autumn, 1945).

Russia and Islam. Poison of Near East Problems is Meat for Red Bear. Thomas O'Shaughnessy *(America,* Jan. 26).

Russia and Freedom. G. Fedotov (*Rev. of Politics,* Jan.).

Frontiers and Mass Migrations in Eastern Central Europe. Hans Rothfels *(ibid.).*

Ideas in France: 1939 to 1945. H. I. Marrou *(ibid.).*

BRITISH EMPIRE

The Early Community of St. Andrew at Rochester, 604-c. 1080. R. A. L. Smith *(English Historical Review,* Sept., 1945).

The Confirmation of the Charters, 1297. Part III. H. Rothwell *(ibid.).*

Henry V, Bishop Beaufort and the Red Hat, 1417-21. K. B. McFarlane *(ibid.).*

The Scottish Episcopate at the Reformation. G. Donaldson *(ibid.).*

Revision to Lists of Medieval Religious Houses. Dom David Knowles *(ibid.).*

The Chronology of the "Mercian Register." F. T. Wainwright *(ibid.).*

Early Canterbury Jurisdiction. Marjorie McC. Morgan *(ibid.).*

Piero del Monte, John Whethamstede, and the Library of St. Albans Abbey. Count R. Weiss *(ibid.).*

The Writ of Prohibition to Court Christian in the Thirteenth Century. Part II. G. B. Flahiff *(Mediaeval Studies,* Vol. VII, 1945).

St. Albert, Patron of Cashel. A study in the History of Diocesan Episcopacy in Ireland. John Hennig *(ibid.).*

A Fifteenth-Century English Chaucerian: The Translator of *Partonope of Blois.* B. J. Whiting *(ibid.).*

Social Equalitarianism in a Tudor Crisis. W. Gordon Zeeveld *(Jrn. of the Hist. of Ideas,* Jan.).

Father Dominic Barberi and the English. Denis Gwynn *(Month,* Nov., 1945).

Tendencies in historical study in England. H. Butterfield *(Irish Histor. Studies,* March, 1945).

Agenda for Irish History: Norman Ireland. H. G. Richardson; Ireland from 1461 to 1603. David B. Quinn *(ibid.).*

Cardinal MacRory. Shane Leslie *(Dublin Rev.,* Jan.)

Pugin at Alton Towers. Tudor Edwards *(ibid.).*

Eoin Mac Neill. John Ryan *(Studies,* Dec., 1945).

Higher Education in India. Bishop Pothacamury *(ibid.).*

Origins of Maynooth College. John Brady *(ibid.).*

Centenary of S. V. P. Society in Ireland. T. W. T. Dillon *(ibid.).*

Dictionary of Irishmen in France. Richard Hayes *(ibid.).*

Newman at Beaumont. Stephen J. Brown *(ibid.).*

AMERICAN

Discovery of the Chesapeake Bay. Louis Dow Scisco *(Maryland Histor. Mag.,* Dec., 1945).

Was Saint Robert Bellarmine a Prophet of the U.S.A.? E. A. Ryan *(Jesuit Seminary News,* Dec., 1945).

The Catholic Church in the United States, 1784-1828. J .A. Baisnée (*Records of the Amer. Cath. Histor. Soc. of Philadelphia,* Dec., 1945).

Some of the Awards to Catholics in World War II *(ibid.).*

Philadelphia and the Revolution. Translated by Jules A. Baisnée and John J. Meng *(ibid.).*

The Religious Revival of 1858 in Philadelphia. Russell E. Francis *(Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist. and Biog.,* Jan.).

The Diocesan Priests in Florida's Beginnings. John P. McNulty *(Catholic World,* March).

Reply to John P. McNulty. Michael Kenny, S.J. *(ibid.).*

History of Fort Wayne. Lois Prance and James R. Irwin *(Michigan History,* Jan.).

The Missouri Reader: The French in the Valley, Part II. The Settlements, Florissant, Mine à Breton, La Charette, Portage des Sioux, Cote Sans Dessein, New Bourbon, New Madrid, Cape Girardeau. Other Settlements, Lay-out of Villages, Government, Population (1804). Ed. by Dorothy Penn *(Missouri Histor.* Rev., Jan.).

Sacred Heart College of Prairie du Chien, 1880-1888. W. B. Faherty *(Wisconsin Mag. of Hist.,* Dec., 1945).

A German's [Professor John Gottfried Buttner of Hamburg] Opinion of the United States in 1845. John M. Lenhart *(Social Justice Rev.,* Feb.).

The Records of Washington Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1853-1874. James R. Masterson *(Pacific Northwest Quart.,* Jan.).

A Crusade for Indian Reform, 1922-1934. Randolph C. Downes *(Mississippi Valley Histor. Rev.,* Dec., 1945).

Six articles on Polish-American life and history *(Polish-American Studies,* July-Dec., 1945).

The American Frontier—Frontier of What? Carlton J. H. Hayes (*Amer. Histor. Rev.,* Jan.).

America at the Crossroads. Carlton J. H. Hayes *(New York History,* Jan.).

Some of Cartier's Place-Names, 1535-1536. Percy J. Robinson *(Canadian Histor. Rev.,* Dec., 1945).

The Discovery of the Mississippi—Secondary Sources. Jean Delanglez *(Mid-America,* Jan.).

The Journal of Pierre Vitry, S.J. Jean Delanglez *(ibid.).*

Latin America: A Cultural Challenge. Sister M. Frederick Lochemes (*Histor. Bulletin,* Jan.).

Havana Seminar. The Americas Meet for Christian Social Reform. John LaFarge (*America*, Jan. 26).

Self-Help for Puerto Rico. Edna Lonigan (*Commonweal*, Jan. 4, 1946).

The Rise of the Factory in Latin America. George Wythe (*Hispanic American Histor. Rev.*, Aug., 1945).

The Chichimecas: Scourge of the Silver Frontier in Sixteenth-Century Mexico. Philip Wayne Powell (*ibid.*).

An Incident in the Life of Guridi y Alococer and "La Quixotita." Jefferson Rea Spell (*ibid.*).

Manuscript Papers of the Condes de Regla. J. Horace Nunemaker (*ibid.*).

Menéndez y Pelayo and America. Roderick A. Molina (*Americas*, Jan.).

Don Fray Alonso de Montúfar, the Second Archbishop of Mexico, and the Devotion of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Alberto María Carreño (*ibid.*).

The United States and the Brazilian Naval Revolt, 1893-1894. Michael B. McCloskey (*ibid.*).

Facets of Mexican Thought: José Vasconcelos (1871——). Kurt F. Reinhardt (*ibid.*).

The Franciscan Provines of South America (Bolivia and Chile). Marion A. Habig (*ibid.*).

The First History of Latin American Art. Robert C. Smith (*ibid.*).

Alleged Protestant Influence in Brazil in the 16th and 17th Centuries. John M. Lenhart (*Social Justice Rev.*, Jan.).

Escultura religiosa no Brasil. Dinarte Duarte Passos (*Vozes de Petrópolis*, Sept., 1945).

Bispos e Prelados no Brasil, com Jurisdição sôbre o Rio Grande do Sul. João Maria Balem (*Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira*, Dec., 1945).

Matrimonial Problems of Seth Barton: An Ante-Bellum American "Diplomat" in Chile. James Morton Callahan (*Arkansas Histor. Quart.*, Winter, 1945).

Politics in Chile. Alfonso Santa Cruz (*Commonweal*, Jan. 25).

Volume I of the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for the year 1944 contains besides the *Proceedings*, a *Guide to the American Historical Review, 1895-1945*, a subject-classified, explanatory bibliography of the articles, notes and suggestions, and documents. It is edited by Franklin D. Scott and Elaine Teigler of Northwestern University. Guy Stanton Ford writes a foreword. The *Guide* will render invaluable service to historians (Washington, D. C.: Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office. Price $1.25, cloth).

BOOKS RECEIVED

Andrews, Evangeline Walker, and Charles McLean Andrews, *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal or God's Protecting Providence.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1945. Pp. x, 252. $3.00.)

Anonymous, *Whom Thou Seekest.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1946. Pp. x, 229. $2.00.) A series of meditations on God as the object of knowledge and love.

St. Athanasius, *The Incarnation of the Word of God.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1946. Pp. 96. $1.50.)

Bordeaux, Paule Henry, *Marie Stuart.* (Paris: Librairie Plon., distributed by Les Editions Variétés. Second printing 1944. Pp. 444.)

Brennan, Sister Rose Emmanuella, S.H.N. (Trans.), *The Trinity and the Unicity of the Intellect by St. Thomas Aquinas.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1946. Pp. v, 289. $3.00.) Sister Rose Emmanuella has here translated Aquinas' commentary on Boethius' *De Trinitate* and *De Unitate Intellectus.* The translations have been made from the Parma edition. Ignatius Smith, O.P., writes a brief introduction to the volume.

Brinton, Crane, *The United States and Britain.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1945. Pp. xii, 305. $2.50.)

Burpee, Lawrence J., *The Discovery of Canada.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1946. Pp. vi, 280. $3.00.)

Burton, Katherine, *According to the Pattern. The Story of Dr. Agnes McLaren and the Society of Catholic Medical Missionaries.* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1946. Pp. 252. $2.50.)

Crane, Katherine Elizabeth, *Blair House. Past and Present. An Account of its Life and Times in the City of Washington.* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1945. Pp. 38. 16 Plates. $1.00.) When the Blair House passed into the possession of the United States Government in October, 1942, as a guest house for distinguished state visitors, few knew of the interesting history of this fine old mansion located across Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House. It was built in 1824 and purchased in December, 1836, by Francis Preston Blair, editor of the famous Jacksonian paper, the *Globe.* Miss Crane of the Division of Research and Publication of the Department of State, has, with the help of others, written the history of the mansion. The handsome booklet is accompanied by sixteen illustrations in gravure which show off to splendid advantage the outstanding features of both the interior and exterior of this historic neighbor of the White House.

Dean, Vera Micheles,*The Four Cornerstones of Peace.* (New York: McGraw-Hill. 1946. Pp. xxiv, 267. $2.50.)

Dengel, Anna, *Mission for Samaritans.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1946. Pp. x, 126. $1.75.)

Diffie, Bailey W., *Latin-American Civilization.* (Harrisburg: Stackpole Sons. 1945. Pp. 612.)

Einstein, Lewis, *Historical Change.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1946. Pp. 132. $1.25.)

Evans, George W. B., *Mexican Gold Trail: the Journal of a Forty-Niner.* (San Marino: Huntington Library. 1945. Pp. xx, 340. $5.00.)

A Father of the Abbey of Gethsemani, Kentucky—of the Order of Cistercians of the Strict Observance, *Compendium of the History of the Cistercian Order.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1944. Pp. xv, 375. $4.00.)

Finegan, Jack, *Light from the Ancient Past. The Archeological Background of the Hebrew Christian Religion.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1946. Pp. xxxiv, 500. $5.00.)

Finer, Herman, *The United Nations Economic and Social Council.* (Boston: World Peace Foundation. 1946. Pp. 121. Cloth $.50, paper $.25.)

Foreman, Grant, *The Last Trek of the Indians.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1946. Pp. 382. $4.00.)

Gardiner, Harold C., *Mysteries' End. An Investigation of the Last Days of the Medieval Religious Stage.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. Pp. xiv, 142. $3.00.)

Giordani, Igino, *St. Paul: Apostle and Martyr.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1946. Pp. xviii, 286. $2.50.)

Gipson, Lawrence Henry, *The Great War for the Empire. The Years of Defeat, 1754-1757.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1946. Pp. xxxvii, 426. $7.50.)

Gooch, G. P., *Courts and Cabinets.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1946. Pp. xi, 372. $3.75.)

Goodrich, Leland M., and Edward Hambro, *Charter of the United Nations: Commentary and Documents.* (Boston: World Peace Foundation. 1946. Pp. xiii, 400. $2.50, cloth.)

Gracian, Baltasar, S.J., *A Truthtelling Manual and the Art of Worldly Wisdom.* (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher. 1945. Pp. 311.) This little volume of aphorisms was translated from the Spanish text of 1653 by Martin Fischer of the University of Cincinnati. It first appeared in 1934 and is now offered in a second and revised edition.

Greater America: Essays in Honor of Herbert Eugene Bolton. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1945. Pp. ix, 723. $6.00.)

Haffert, John Mathias, *The Peacemaker Who Went to War: The Life of Blessed Nun' Alvarez Pereira, Precursor of Our Lady of Fatima.* (New York: Scapular Press. 1945. Pp. viii, 212. $2.50.)

Haggerty, Edward, *Guerrilla Padre in Mindanao.* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1946. Pp. xii, 257. $2.75.)

Houck, Frederick A., *A Biography of St. Ann's Parish—Toledo, Ohio.* (Toledo: Privately printed. Pp. 118. $1.00.)

Hutton, Graham, *Midwest at Noon.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1946. Pp. xv, 351. $3.75.)

Huxley, Aldous, *The Perennial Philosophy.* (New York: Harper and Bros. 1945. Pp. xi, 312. $3.00.)

Jasny, Naum, *The Wheats of Classical Antiquity* [The Johns Hopkins University Studies, Series LXII, No. 3]. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1944. Pp. 176. $1.75.)

Kantorowicz, Ernst H., *Laudes Regiae. A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship.* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1946. Pp. xxi, 292. $3.00.)

Kinsley, Philip, *The Chicago Tribune: Its First Hundred Years.* Volume II. (Chicago: Chicago Tribune. 1945. Pp. xv, 349.)

Loewenstein, Prince Hubertus zu, *The Lance of Longinus.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1946. Pp. 166. $2.00.) An historical novel with Longinus, the Roman centurion of the crucifixion story, as the central character.

Lowie, Robert H., *The German People: A Social Portrait to 1914.* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc. 1945. Pp. 143. $1.75.)

Magner, James A., in collaboration with James T. Hurley and Louise F. Spaeth, *Latin America Pattern* [second edition.] (Cincinnati: Catholic Students' Mission Crusade. 1945. Pp. 106. Paper $0.96, cloth $1.60.)

Mâle, Emile, *L'Art religieux de XIIe au XVIIIe siècle.* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1945. Pp. 216. Paper 130 fr.) This little volume consists of extracts selected by Emile Mâle himself from his four magnificant tomes on religious art. The sections are lightly basted together by brief comments of the author. The book forms an admirable introduction to the thought of this great authority on Christian art. The publishers announce that the plates of three of Mâle's great volumes were destroyed in the bombardment of Evreux in 1940.

Marquez, Octaviano (Ed.), *Orbas Selectas de D. Trinidad Sanchez Santos.* Tomo I. *Discursos y Poesias.* (Puebla: Biblioteca Palafox. 1945. Pp. 626.)

Mourret, Fernand, and Newton Thompson, *A History of the Catholic Church.* Volume VI—*Period of the Ancient Regime.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1945. Pp. viii, 656. $4.00.)

Parente, Pascal P., *The Mystical Life.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1946. Pp. ix, 272. $2.50.) The author of the *Ascetical Life* [St. Louis, 1944], here discusses the general aspects and basic elements of mysticism, mystical states in particular, and what he terms mystical phenomena. Father Parente is associate professor of ascetical theology in the Catholic University of America.

Patrick, Rembert W., *Florida Under Five Flags.* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1945. Pp. xiv, 140. $2.50.)

The Priest Goes to War. A Pictorial Outline of the Work of the Catholic Chaplains in the Second War. (New York: Society for the Propagation of the Faith. 1945. $1.00.) Many hands have co-operated in the work of preparing this attractive illustrated booklet of the work of the Catholic chaplains in World War II. It will be of service to the historian when the time comes to write the definitive history of the war.

Randall, J. G., *Lincoln the President: Springfield to Gettysburg.* 2 vols. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co. Pp. xxi, 395; vii, 439. $7.50.)

Randall, J. G., *Lincoln and the South.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1946. Pp. viii, 161. $1.50.)

Russell, Bertrand, *A History of Western Philosophy.* (New York: Simon and Shuster. 1945. Pp. xxiii, 895. $5.00.)

Salomone, A. William, *Italian Democracy in the Making. The Political Scene in the Giolittian Era, 1900-1914.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1945. Pp. xix, 148. $2.50.)

Scannell, Francis P., *In Line of Duty.* (New York: Harper and Bros. 1946. Pp. 302. $2.50) A novel of World War II.

Scheeben, M. J., *Mariology.* Vol. I. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1946. Pp. xxxiv, 252. $2.50.) This volume, translated by T. L. M. J. Genkers, contains eleven chapters which discuss the concept, sources, christological foundations, and basic principle of mariology. There are four appendices which treat special phases of the doctrines on the Blessed Mother.

Schimberg, Albert Paul, *The Great Friend: Frederick Ozanam.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1946. Pp. vii, 344. $2.50.)

Shanahan, William O., *Prussian Military Reforms, 1786-1813.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1945. Pp. 270. $3.25.)